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JESUS
THE SON OF GOD

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JESUS THE SON OF GOD

OR

PRIMITIVE CHRISTOLOGY

Three Essays and a Discussion

BY

BENJAMIN WISNER BACON, D.D., LITT.D., LL.D.,

*Buckingham Professor of New Testament Criticism and
Interpretation in Yale University*

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The three critical essays on titles applied to Christ in the earlier sources of the New Testament were originally published in the *Harvard Theological Review* (1909-1911). The discussion which follows them, "The Christology of Peter," has been hitherto unpublished.

PART I

PRIMITIVE CHRISTOLOGY

JESUS THE SON OF GOD

I. THE LOGION MT. 11 25-27, LK. 10 21-22, AND ITS PARALLELS

No passage of the Synoptic Gospels throws so much light upon Jesus' sense of his own mission as that which deals with Knowing the Father and Being Known of Him in Mt. 11 25-27, Lk. 10 21-22. It belongs to the common element of Matthew and Luke unknown in Mark, and in the judgment of the great majority of critics must therefore be referred to a common source of high antiquity. In short, as respects attestation, its claims to authenticity are unexcelled. As respects content, it deals with the all-important matter of Jesus' doctrine of divine sonship, and yet it seems to stand alone among Synoptic sayings, and to be paralleled only by utterances ascribed to Jesus by the fourth evangelist. But the Johannine discourses give every indication of having been composed by the evangelist himself in order to expound in dialogue form his own deuteropauline Christology. The only instance in all Synoptic tradition of anything comparable to this apposition of "the Son . . . the Father," is Mk. 13 32, Mt. 24 36.

Of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.

But this Markan saying cannot be employed to prove the superhuman consciousness of Jesus; for in the Lukan version of the same saying, Acts 1 7,

It is not for you to know times or seasons, which the Father hath set within his own authority,

the apposition disappears, and, in view of Mark's freedom in the composition of the eschatological chapter (Mk. 13), and of his individual Christology as reflected at the beginning and end of his gospel (Mk. 1 1 and 15 39),¹ it is more reasonable to attribute to the evangelist the reference to "the Son" in Mk. 13 32. The

¹ The paraphrase of Is. 5 1-7 in Mk. 12 1-9 reflects the same standpoint and is better understood as an allegorical composition of the evangelist than as an authentic parable of Jesus, though a parable somewhat resembling this is inserted by Mt. just before it (Mt. 21 28-32).

original saying was, then, no parallel to our logion, and the latter remains unique. It is the sole unshakable utterance of Jesus to which the doctrine of his divine sonship can be referred. And yet, even after the most drastic application of both textual and higher criticism, it does remain unshaken; and it well deserves its description as "the Johannine passage," for it forms, however interpreted, a true link of connection between Synoptic and Johannine Christology.

We are bound, nevertheless, by all sane principles of criticism, and of exegesis as well, to prefer that form of text and that interpretation which leave the saying in harmony with the rest of Synoptic tradition rather than a text and interpretation whose affinities are all with the Fourth Gospel. Such a form and interpretation may reveal a root from which the later developed Christology might spring; any other could give us no more than an erratic block, in which the geologist must see violent displacement from its original bed.

Harnack² has recently submitted the textual evidence to a searching examination. Since it is not our present object to test his results, but to present an interpretation applicable whether these results be accepted or not, it will suffice merely to indicate by square brackets the material he omits, and by marks of parenthesis the altered readings which he introduces.

Mt. 11 25-27

25 At that season Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes: **26** yea, Father, for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight. **27** All things have been delivered unto me of [my] Father: and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal *him*.

Lk. 10 21-22

21 In that same hour he rejoiced in the Holy Spirit and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes: yea, Father, for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight. **22** All things have been delivered unto me of [my] Father: and no one (hath recognized) [who the Son is save the Father; and] who the Father is, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son [willeth to] reveal(eth) *him*.³

² Sprüche und Reden Jesu, 1907, Exkurs I, pp. 189-211.

³ In the extract only Harnack's positive results are exhibited. He leaves it doubtful, for example, whether the order in Mt. 11 27 should not be "the Father . . .

From a comparison of these emended texts of Mt. and Lk. Harnack concludes that the common source (Q) represented by their coincident material read as follows:

At that season Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them to babes; yea Father, for such was thy good pleasure. All things were delivered to me by the Father, and no one hath known the Father [or who the Father is] save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son maketh the revelation.

We ourselves are not so much concerned with the sense given to the passage by our first and third evangelists, as with the sense it bore in their common source, now commonly designated Q.⁴ It may well be, as has recently been declared by no less weighty and unprejudiced an authority than Jülicher, that

The evangelist who makes Jesus exclaim, No one knoweth the Son save the Father and likewise no one knoweth the Father save the Son (Mt. 11 27; cf. Lk. 10 22), surely presupposes in him a consciousness derived from another world and period.⁵

An evangelist demonstrably dependent on Mark, one who takes over and improves upon the "high" Christology of his predecessor, and who seems even to have adapted this very logion to the form of a post-resurrection commission to the apostles to make converts of all the nations (Mt. 28 18), may well have accepted a Pauline Christology with all its implications of pre-existence. But the inquirer into the pre-pauline conceptions, the historian of the doctrine, who would know what Jesus himself felt to be

the Son . . . the Son . . . the Father," and whether in the last clause we should not read "revealeth," as in the emended Lk., instead of "willeth to reveal." As these are merely possible changes and make no practical difference to the sense, they are not indicated.

⁴ So the Germans generally and Salmon (*The Human Element in the Gospels*, 1907). The designation is better than L (W. C. Allen, *International Critical Comm.*, 1907) or A (H. J. Holtzmann, *Synoptische Evangelien*, 1863), for it does not prejudice the question of the relation of this Mt.-Lk. source to the Matthaean "Logia of the Lord" mentioned by Papias. Burton and Sharman of Chicago University employ the letters G (Galilean document) and P (Perean document) for the respective intercalations of Lk. 6 20-8 8 and 9 51-18 14, which other critics designate together as Q.

⁵ Paulus und Jesus, 1907, p. 31.

implied in his own "sonship," will not delay over secondary and derived information when primary sources are accessible. Mark and the first evangelist show the form of the tradition current in the period 70-90 A.D.; for the period 40-60 A.D. we are able to use as a standard of comparison the Pauline epistles and the reported utterances of Jesus himself in the material drawn from Q and common to Matthew and Luke.⁶

In this earlier material we are fortunately not devoid of parallels for either portion of the logion. Even if we grant the cogency of Harnack's textual argument for attributing to our first evangelist, and not to Q, the clause "no one knoweth the Son save the Father," yet the Pauline epistles will furnish evidence, as we hope to show, that this supposed addition is no invention of the evangelist, but is itself an expression of the spirit of Jesus. Besides Q and the Pauline epistles we have a further resource in the contemporary Jewish literature. Of all these aids we must avail ourselves in order to determine in what sense utterances concerning "the Son," "the Father," would be understood by Jesus' auditors, and must therefore, since he had no purpose to mislead, have been intended by himself.

Harnack⁷ very justly indorses the judgment of Pfeiderer in finding in 1 Cor. 1 19 21 a Pauline parallel to our logion so close in thought and to some extent even in language as to suggest direct literary dependence:

For it is written,

I will destroy the wisdom of the wise,
And the prudence of the prudent will I reject.

. . . For seeing that in the wisdom of God the world through its wisdom knew not God, it was God's good pleasure through the foolishness of the preaching to save them that believe.

⁶ That this common Mt.-Lk. discourse material (Q) is not derived by one of these evangelists directly from the other has been conclusively demonstrated by Wernle (*Synoptische Frage*, 1899, pp. 40-80), and is an accepted result of New Testament science. Even Allen pleads only for an "influence" of Matthew upon Luke. Advocates of oral tradition (A. Wright) make their oral source the equivalent of a document, since its form is so stereotyped as to make the resemblance of Mt. to Lk. closer in the portions not shared by Mk. than in the parts taken by each from this admittedly written source.

⁷ *Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, p. 210, note 1.

On the question whether Paul is dependent on the logion or Q influenced by Paul, there is disagreement. Harnack rejects Pfleiderer's decision in favor of the latter alternative, on the ground that "babes" (νήπιοι) "is not Pauline."⁸ And yet in the same context, scarcely more than a score of verses further on (1 Cor. 3 1) Paul applies this very term "babes" (νήπιοι) to his Corinthian converts as recipients of the revelation.

Important as this matter of the relation of Paul to Q undoubtedly is, we may still leave the question of priority undecided. The essential point for the interpreter is the existence of the relation, and this becomes the more apparent the more closely we scrutinize the two contexts.

As regards the setting of the logion in Q, accepting Harnack's textual results, we can go no further than the coincidence of Matthew and Luke allows. As this comprises, however, all the evidence we have, and as all bears in one direction, there is no likelihood of contradiction for Harnack's conclusion⁹ that in the source it stood between the Woes on the Unrepentant Cities of Galilee and the Denunciation of the Scribes who Blasphemed the Spirit and demanded a sign from Heaven. Pursuing the sequence a little further back it would appear that the Woes against the Unrepentant Cities followed upon the Complaint against the Generation which was satisfied neither with the "wailing" of the Baptist's disciples nor the "piping" of the followers of Jesus, and this in turn came after the Mission of the Twelve, which itself was preceded by the incident of the Centurion whose faith put to shame the unbelief of Israel. Certainly one cannot fail to perceive the dominant motive in this sequence, particularly as it reappears so strongly both in Paul (Rom. 9-11) and in all our canonical evangelists (Mt. 4 1-25, 12 1-12, 13 1-23, 21 33-43, Lk. 4 16-30, 24 44-49, Acts *passim*, Jn. 12 20-43). The author of Q treated the logion as a rebuke of the dull ears and blind eyes of unbelieving Israel, in this respect following the lead of Paul, and being followed by all our evangelists.

⁸ Yet our passage furnishes the only occurrence of the word in the gospels (save the quotation from Ps. 8 3 in Mt. 21 16) against eleven occurrences in the Pauline epistles.

⁹ Sprüche und Reden Jesu, p. 126.

In 1 Cor. 1 18, 2 16 the flesh which "glories before God (1 29) is not indeed, as in Rom. 2 17-20, the Jew who claims to "know God" and to be "a teacher of babes," but the wise in their own esteem generally. In the logion as originally intended it is of course "the wise and understanding" of Israel, the scribes, who are meant, and their oppressive yoke is contrasted with that of Jesus in the invitation framed by Matthew as an appendix to it from Eccus. 6 28, 51 26 ff.¹⁰ Only the compiler, to whom is due the context of Q's sequence, seems to have had in mind the peculiar pretensions and the signal rejection of Israel as a whole. With the evangelists and Paul alike we have here an application, now wider, now narrower, of the passage Is. 29 9-24, a favorite passage of Paul¹¹ and also used more than once in Q.¹² In representing the "babes" as the choice of God's "good pleasure" to receive revelation, Paul is only extending to the spiritually disinherited of the gentile world the assurance which Jesus had given to his "little flock" of repentant sinners and synagogue outcasts. He bases it explicitly on the Isaian passage which tacitly underlies the logion.

II. THE REVELATION GIVEN TO THE LOWLY.

The comparison of Paul's rhapsody over "the word of the cross," "the foolishness of the preaching," with Jesus' exultation over the revelation given to his "little ones," and the connection of both with their common Old Testament basis, is much more than a mere vindication of the authenticity of the saying. It already goes far toward determining its sense; and this in turn, as it becomes clearer, will enable us to detect parallels perhaps hitherto unsuspected.

The fundamental point of agreement of all three witnesses, the logion, the Isaian passage, and the Pauline, is the vindication of

¹⁰ Mt. 11 28-30, which fails to appear in Luke, seems, beautiful as it is, to be of the evangelist's composition from phrases derived from the Wisdom-literature. See W. C. Allen, *ad loc.*, in *Internat. Crit. Commentary*, 1907, and Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*, p. 338, for the parallels.

¹¹ Rom. 11 8, Col. 2 2, 1 Cor. 1 29 30, 3 19, Rom. 9 20 21, 2 Tim. 2 20 21, 2 Cor. 1 3 4, 7 6, 1 Thess. 3 7, 4 18, 5 14.

¹² Cf. besides the present passage Mt. 11 5, Lk. 4 18, 7 22.

the revelation given to the unlearned, the lowly, the plain people, against the usurpations of ecclesiastical authority. In the time of Amos God had been free to choose as the bearer of his message a herdsman, a dresser of sycamore trees, in preference to the prophet by avocation, if it so pleased him (Am. 7 14 15). Isaiah already felt the pressure of hierocratic usurpation, and followed the lead of Amos in pouring scorn upon the prophets "whose eyes are closed," the seers "whose heads are covered," the learned to whom "all vision is become as the words of a book that is sealed," so that God turns to "the meek" and "the poor," making the children to sanctify his name, and erring spirits and "stammering lips to utter peace."¹³ Since the extinction of the voice of prophecy, and the establishment of the exclusive authority of the synagogue and the written law, the usurpations of the professional religionist had become in Jesus' time immeasurably more intolerable still. A coterie of scribes with a few thousand Pharisaic followers had arrogated to themselves alone the spiritual inheritance of Israel. Sitting in Moses' seat with their prerogative of the interpretation of the written law, they held the keys of the kingdom of heaven. They entered not in themselves, and the masses that would enter in by the broad door of the baptism of John and the proclamation of forgiveness and adoption by Jesus they hindered. They had made it impossible for the average son or daughter of Abraham to expect any "part in the world to come"; for this phrase had come to be the current expression for a share in the common national inheritance, the birthright of the sons of Abraham, the messianic hope. As the Gracchi in Rome became the champions of the lowly against the usurpation of the common domain by the aristocracy, so John the Baptist and Jesus resisted the usurpation of the common spiritual inheritance in Israel. To Jesus the baptism of John had been a sign from heaven (Mt. 21 23-25). John himself had been an Elias, the "restorer of the tribes" (Ecclus. 48 10), having as his mission not merely the "great repentance" (Mal. 4 5 6), but the turning of fathers to children and children to their fathers, in the sense of restoring those who had been excluded by violence and wrongfully, and excluding those who had usurped the place of

¹³ Is. 29 9-24 (LXX).

the sons and daughters of Abraham.¹⁴ As such a sign the Baptist's warning of "wrath to come" had been "a greater matter" than the preaching of Jonah to the Ninevites, and the generation which rejected it were bringing on themselves greater condemnation (Mt. 12 41).¹⁵

The Isaian basis of our logion, the Pauline parallel, the gospel affinities, the context and internal evidence of the logion itself, all combine to show that we must interpret it in the light of this championship by Jesus of the cause of the lost sheep, and of the lost son against the grudging elder brother. The "weary and heavy laden" to whom is given the invitation, "Take my yoke upon you and learn of me," which Matthew appropriately appends, are those that have been learning of the scribes in Moses' seat, those scribes who make the yoke of the law more and more grievous and intolerable, "binding heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, which they themselves did not touch with one of their fingers." The "revelation to babes" for which the supreme Lord is thanked, is the sight and knowledge granted to the pure in heart (Mt. 5 8), more than offsetting the unused "key of knowledge" in the hand of the professional exponent of Mosaism (Mt. 23 13, Lk. 11 52). The spirit of the context is that of the promise of Jer. 31 34 of the days of the new covenant, when

They shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the LORD: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the LORD: for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more.

In the light of these connected passages it is manifest that those expositors are right who point out that the word here ren-

¹⁴ Mt. 11 12-15. This obscure passage is illuminated by the rabbinic tradition, Edujoth viii, 7, where on the authority of Johanan ben Zakkai the function of Elijah as restorer of the tribes is declared to be, "not to pronounce clean or unclean, to exclude or receive in general, but only to receive those who had been excluded by violence, and to exclude those who had been received by violence." See Bacon, "Elias and the Men of Violence," Expositor, sixth series, xxxi (July, 1902), and W. C. Allen, Intern. Crit. Comm. on Mt., *ad loc.*

¹⁵ On the reference to "the baptism of John" in this answer of Jesus to the demand for a sign from heaven, which Matthew and Luke in contradictory ways endeavor to apply to Jesus himself, see Bacon, Sermon on the Mount, p. 232, and cf. the parallel demand for a sign and its answer, Mt. 21 23-25; also the combination of the two in Jn. 2 18-21.

dered "delivered" (παρεδόθη) is not the same as that used in the utterance of Mt. 28 18, "All authority hath been given (ἐδόθη) unto me in heaven and on earth," but is the technical term for the conveyance of authoritative doctrine (παράδοσις). If the post-resurrection commission (Mt. 28 18) is framed, as seems probable, on our logion, the evangelist has extended the sense beyond the original intention. In reality the logion is more justly paralleled in Jn. 7 16 17, "My teaching is not mine, but his that sent me." Against the "traditions (παράδοσεις) of the scribes" Jesus sets the tradition of his Father, which is "hidden from the wise and understanding, but revealed (by the Father) to babes." We are reminded how in a closely connected Lukan passage, denouncing as blind leaders of the blind the scribes and Pharisees who had demanded of him a sign from heaven, he had referred his hearers to "the light that is in thee" as a guide which no other can replace (Lk. 11 34-35). If we penetrate through the setting to the intrinsic sense of the parable of the Good Samaritan, we shall perceive there too a vindication of the inner law against the written. The Samaritan stands contrasted with priest and Levite because in his simple obedience to "the righteousness of God" he puts to shame the professional expounders of Mosaism. It is in the name of himself and his "little ones," then, that Jesus "rejoices in the Holy Spirit," when he thanks the "Lord of heaven and earth" that the scribe has no monopoly of the knowledge of God. The title "Lord of heaven and earth" is chosen, as Amos had chosen equivalent titles (Am. 9 5 6), in protest against a clique of ecclesiastics who imagined themselves able to monopolize knowledge of the Infinite One. Paul delineates for us this would-be monopolizer of the "Lord of heaven and earth." For Paul it is of course not merely the scribe, but the Jew generally in contrast with the untaught gentile, who

rests upon the law and glories in God, having the knowledge of his will, discriminating in matters of casuistry, being instructed out of the law, confident that he himself is a guide of the blind, a light of them that are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of "babes," having in the law the pattern of knowledge and of the truth.

But Paul's expressions belong to a time when the issue regarding inheritance of the kingdom had widened. Jesus' exultation is the

declaration of independence of the old prophetic spirit so long enslaved. It is a reassertion of the rights of the spiritually disinherited of Israel. Paul is the champion of the gentiles, who without the law are a law unto themselves. Both rest ultimately on the same basis. In both cases the appeal is to the awakening Spirit of adoption that witnesseth with our spirit that we are born of God, teaching us to cry, Abba, Father.

III. RELATION OF THE SAYING TO MARK 4 11.

With this recognition of the bearing of the earlier part of our logion must follow a recognition of certain hitherto unsuspected affinities.

On the surface there is little to indicate the affinity of this saying with that attributed to Jesus in Mk. 4 11,

To you is given the mystery of the kingdom of God, but for them that are without all things are done in parables.

We believe this Markan saying, however, to be a genuine variant of our logion. Our second evangelist is notably free in his citations of logia, adapting them to his own purposes, and frequently, as in Mk. 1 15, giving them a tincture of Pauline phraseology. The use here of the Pauline term "the mystery" for "the revelation," and the adaptation of the logion to a theory of the teaching in parables which is obviously the evangelist's own creation, though also based on Paul,¹⁶ has obscured the relation. But Clement of Alexandria has fortunately preserved for us from an

¹⁶ Mk. 4 11 12 is an editorial insertion quite out of harmony with the context, which presupposes that not merely the parable of the sower, but "all the parables" have preceded (vs. 13), and expresses surprise that explanation should be needed (vs. 13). In vss. 10 and 13 the sense of the question about the parables is not, as assumed in vss. 11 and 12, "Why use this method?" but "What is the meaning of the symbolism?" Vss. 11 12 with their Isaian proof-text apply the Pauline doctrine of the hardening of Israel (Rom. 11 7 8) to the fact that Jesus had taught in "parables," the "parable" being erroneously regarded as an enigma, riddle, or dark saying. Mark doubtless applied the parable of the sower to the hardening of Israel much as Ep. Barn. 9 5 (cf. Heb. 6 8) applies the common prototype of Jer. 4 3, "Sow not upon thorns, break up the fallow ground." But Mark did not *invent* a logion to justify his theory of the parables as a preaching of judgment. He adapted that now under consideration to suit his Pauline theory.

unknown gospel a middle link. In his *Stromata*, v. 10, 69, he declares that he found "in a certain gospel" the saying,

My mystery belongs to me and to the sons of my household.

In the Clementine Homilies xix, 20 the same logion is quoted in a form reminding us of the exclusive spirit of Mt. 7 6,

Keep the mysteries for me and for the sons (*uiols*) of my household.

In these agrapha we are manifestly dealing with the same logion that appears in Mk. 4 11 in a form adapted to Mark's theory of the parabolic method. The reservation of "my mystery" is an unmistakable point of connection with Mark; but the reversion in the latter half of the agraphon to "me and the sons of my household" as the antithesis to "outsiders" shows equally close connection with our logion, indicating that Mark has merely adapted it, after the example of Paul, to the wider issue of his own time, and embodied in it the protest of the spiritual seed of Abraham against Jewish pretensions. Mark has paved the way for this adaptation by introducing immediately before the Teaching in Parables, and between it and the Choosing of the Twelve, the saying in which Jesus declares these to be the "sons of his household,"

And looking round about upon those who were sitting in a circle about him he saith, Behold my mother and my brethren; for whosoever doeth the will of God, he is my brother and sister and mother.

It is a matter of no small significance that our second gospel, in striking contrast to the other two synoptists, entirely excludes the great exhibition of Jesus' teaching delivered to the masses, the Sermon on the Mount, and at the corresponding point introduces a deliverance of "the mystery of the kingdom of God" to the inner circle of Jesus' spiritual kindred, while "to those who are without all things are done in enigmas." We should greatly mistake the intention of this most democratic of all the evangelists if we conceived him to suggest a new spiritual aristocracy, with the apostles as trustees of "the mystery." We must understand the inner circle just as he defines it (Mk. 3 31-35). The "mystery" is given to the believing and obedient (cf. Jn. 7 3-5 17

with Mk. 3 31-35); the preaching to the Jewish people generally is to him a mere "sowing upon thorns."¹⁷

On the other hand Mark does not wholly neglect to justify his drastic theory of the hiding of the revelation from the unbelieving Jewish "outsiders" whom he refuses to call "wise and understanding." At the close of his parenthetical discussion of the reason for Jesus' teaching in parables, he resumes the saying at which he turned aside, "If anyone hath ears to hear, he is the one that shall hear" (Mk. 4 9 and 23), and introduces another logion¹⁸ to qualify the seeming harshness of his doctrine,

For it (the mystery) is not hid but only that it might become known; nor was it concealed but only that it might come to light.

In fact this whole paragraph, Mk. 4 21-25, beginning with the comparison of the lamp that "comes" not to be hidden, but to be lifted up,¹⁹ and ending with the warning to the unreceptive that they will be deprived of their prerogative, can only be appreciated when it is read with reference to this great issue of the first century between Jewish particularism and Christian universalism. Whatever the original sense, to Mark the parable of the good and bad soil and the appended sayings constitute a protest against Jewish claims to monopolize the knowledge of God and the messianic hope.

There can be little doubt in view of these various lines of connection that our second (Roman) evangelist, in his section on the Choosing and Training of the Twelve, extending from Mk. 3 7 to 6 13, has adapted our logion on the Hiding of the Revelation from the wise and understanding and the delivering of it to babes to the special case of the hardening of Israel, the case so vividly brought into the foreground in Paul's great epistle to the Romans. Fortunately we have in 1 Cor. 1 18-3 1, and especially in the

¹⁷ For Mark's estimate of the Jewish people generally and their religious character see Mk. 7 3 4 6 7.

¹⁸ Mk. 4 22 is given twice in Luke. Lk. 8 17 = Mk. 4 22; Lk. 12 2 = Mt. 10 26.

¹⁹ Commentators differ as to whether in the evangelist's application "the lamp" stands for the Messiah, who is destined to occupy the throne of glory (cf. Rev. 21 23), or, as originally intended, for the gospel message. Either interpretation would suit our contention.

common Isaian basis, Is. 29 9-24, a standard by which to measure the degree of departure from the original sense.

As a guide to the original occasion of the utterance, Mark's setting has but little value. It is true that Matthew also places in the same relation to the parables a saying which Luke subjoins to our logion as part of the congratulation addressed "to the disciples privately":

Blessed are the eyes which see the things which ye see. For I say unto you that many prophets and kings (*Mt.* righteous men) desired to see the things which ye see, and saw them not, and to hear the things which ye hear, and heard them not.

In *Mt.* 13 16-17 this utterance is separated from the logion on the Hiding of the Revelation and appended to the Markan digression on the Parables as a Hiding of the Mystery. It illustrates the saying, "He that hath ears let him hear" (*Mt.* 13 9, *Mk.* 4 9). But this displacement is almost certainly due to the influence of Mark. Probably, then, the full content of the saying as it stood in the common source of Matthew and Luke (*Q*) was as given in *Lk.* 10 21-24, which we give again in Harnack's reconstruction:

At that season he said, I praise thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes. Yea, Father, for such was the good pleasure before thee. All things (matters of revelation) were delivered to me by the Father, and no one hath recognized (*ἐγνώ*) [the son save the Father, nor hath any recognized] the Father save the son, and he to whomsoever the son willeth to give the revelation. Blessed are your eyes for they see, and [your] ears for they hear; [for verily] I say unto you, many prophets [and kings] desired to see the things which ye see, and saw them not, and to hear the things which ye hear, and heard them not.

Our previous discussion of the context in *Q* has indicated a tendency already apparent even in this primitive compilation to apply the saying to the wider issue between Jew and gentile.

IV. KNOWING AND BEING KNOWN OF GOD.

That which mainly interests the modern student in this so-called "Johannine" saying is its bearing on the messianic consciousness of Jesus, and it is highly significant that all the affinities of the passage, whether in the Old Testament or the New,

make it a protest against the spiritual disinheritance of the common people at the hands of the professional religionist. In the light of this circumstance it is impossible to suppose that Jesus is speaking either of a "revelation" or of a "sonship" which is his in an exclusive sense. He speaks of himself simply as the leader and champion of those who have no claim to sonship but the ethical, whose only pretension to be "sons of the Father in heaven" and "children of the Highest" rests on their exhibition of that divine spirit of unlimited, disinterested goodness, which "is kind even to the unthankful and the evil" (Mt. 5 43-48, Lk. 6 27-36), who "know the will" as the Good Samaritan knew it. But it was the ancient prerogative of Israel as a people to be "the beloved son" of God, "the first born and only-begotten"; whereas God had said of "the other nations which also come of Adam, that they are nothing," and had "likened them to a drop that falleth from a vessel."²⁰ According to the rabbis the evidence of Israel's special prerogative was that Israel had "knowledge of the law."²¹ Whom indeed of mankind does the Creator destine to inherit his world, if not those to whom he has made the revelation of how and why he created it,²² and of how he wills that men should live in it? No wonder if in the eyes of scribes and Pharisees the people of the land who "knew not the law," and did not so much as lend themselves to the guidance of its authoritative expounders, were "accursed" and worthy of no "share in the world to come." The privilege of the "publicans and sinners" could only be that which Paul later ascribed to the "sinners of the gentiles," not "a righteousness of their own, even that of the law," but the right to "become imitators of God as beloved children and walk in love, even as Christ had loved them and given himself for them" (Eph. 5 1).

But if such be the general bearing of the passage, we may well ask by what right the English versions write "Son" with a capital letter. The true parallel to the use which our logion makes of the term "the son" is Jn. 8 35,

²⁰ 2 Esdr. 6 55-59, referring to Gen. 1 26 27 and Is. 40 15. Cf. Psalms of Solomon 17 30, "He shall take knowledge of them that they be all the sons of their God."

²¹ Cf. Deut. 4 6-8.

²² Ass. Mos. 1 14.

The bondservant abideth not in the house forever; the son abideth forever.

Here no one thinks of writing with a capital, because the sense is obviously, "Any one who is a son." The fourth evangelist is reproducing Gal. 4 30, and we have only to turn to that passage to find Paul using both elements of the saying about Knowing God and Being Known (recognized, acknowledged as a son) of God, and then a little further on referring to the law as a "yoke of bondage." If in addition we find this use of the term "the son" to be justified by contemporary Jewish application of these complementary ideas of knowing God and being known of him, it will appear that such is certainly the intention of the logion itself, whatever later evangelists may have made of it.

If we accept the fuller Matthaean form, which is also the Lukan in all forms of the text except Codex Vercellensis,²³ the combination of the reciprocal sayings is paralleled by Paul in his own vindication of the sonship and heirship of the "sinners of the gentiles" without the "yoke of bondage." The disposition of his Galatian converts to take up the yoke of Mosaic ordinances is met with a passionate adjuration to remember the Spirit of adoption which they had received,

Because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father. So that thou art no longer a slave but a son; and if a son, an heir also through God. . . . But now, having come to know God, or rather to be known (acknowledged, recognized as sons) by God, how turn ye back into bondage. . . . Be not held again in a yoke of bondage.

Knowing and being known come into the same antithesis again in 1 Cor. 13 12,

Then shall I know (have the gift of gnosis) even as also I have been known (acknowledged).

We may leave the question unsettled whether it is Paul who has set the example of this antithesis to our canonical Matthew, or the logion which suggests it to Paul. The decision will depend upon the solution of the problem of the text. More important

²³ Cod. Vercell. gives in Lk. (not Mt.), *Omnia mihi tradita sunt a patre, et nemo nobis quis est pater nisi filius, et cuicumque voluerit filius revelavit.*

than the question whether the saying about Being Known (i.e. recognized, acknowledged as a son) by God, was or was not originally connected with the one on the Knowledge of God, is the question of the meaning the former saying was intended to convey. What was the current application of the phrase "to be known (*γνωθῆναι*) by God"?

On this point we have the testimony of a collection of logia still older, apparently, than that referred to by Papias. The Pastoral Epistles, attributed to Paul, and in some parts admittedly Pauline, make repeated reference to "faithful sayings," and especially to "the wholesome words (*λόγοι*), even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ," as the standard of doctrine (1 Tim. 6 s). Among the quoted sayings of these epistles are two which together are said to constitute the "seal" of God's foundation, the Church,

The Lord hath acknowledged (*ἔγνω*) those that are his own, and, Let every one that nameth the name of the Lord depart from iniquity (2 Tim. 2 19, cf. Mt. 7 21-23).

The context shows that the writer has in mind the same complementary principles as are illustrated in the parable of the great supper with its Matthaean appendix of the guest unprovided with the wedding garment.²⁴ God's spiritual building has this twofold basis; on the one side no exclusion of those whom God himself accredits, "as many as are led by the Spirit of God are sons"; on the other no inclusion of the morally discredited, "by their fruits ye shall know them." Because

God said, I will dwell in them and walk in them, . . . therefore
Come ye out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord,
And touch no unclean thing,
And I will receive you,
And be to you a Father,
And ye shall be to me sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty
(2 Cor. ■ 16-18).

These complementary principles of the older Paulinism are now embodied in the "seal" of the "foundation of God," just quoted.

The foregoing examples from the Pauline writings, which show

²⁴ Cf. the two kindred parables, also peculiar to Matthew, of the tares and the net full of fishes, Mt. 13 24-30 36-43 47-50.

what was the primitive treatment of the complementary principles of "knowing" and "being known of" God, should be our guide to the historic sense of the logion, or logia, of Mt. 11 25-27, 13 16-17 = Lk. 10 21-24. To the scribes' contention that no man can claim to be a son who does not "know" the God whom he claims as his Father, and who has no revelation of his will (Rom. 2 18), reply is made by Jesus, in words which rest on Is. 29 14, that the little ones, whom he welcomes as his brother, sister, and mother because they hear the will of God and do it, have a better, fuller "knowledge" than "the wise and understanding." This is the good pleasure (εὐδοκία) of the "Lord of heaven and earth," and it behooves us to be glad and rejoice that the deepest knowledge of God is not intellectually but morally conditioned. Those "know his will" who perceive and imitate his spirit of unstinted, universal goodness "even to the unthankful and the evil." These, and not scribes, nor priests and Levites, official custodians and interpreters of the law, are qualified to "make revelation" to others as widely as they will. Jesus expresses this in the pregnant, epigrammatic phrase so characteristic of him,

It is the son who is competent to give revelation of the Father; but this knowledge is not that of the wise and understanding, it is such as is given to those who are simple-hearted as babes.

V. RELATION OF THE SAYING TO THAT ON THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM, Mt. 16 19.

Since the complementary idea of being known of God is not certainly found in both gospels, we cannot be sure that it is not a reflection of that great experience of the Church for which Paul has given us the term "the witness of the Spirit of adoption." From the stammering lips of those who prayed as the Spirit gave them utterance Paul takes down the cry Abba, Abba,²⁵ appealing to it as a superhuman testimony that through faith we are made

²⁵ The parallel to the above-quoted passage (Gal. 4 ■ 7) in Rom. 8 14-16 26-27 shows that the reference is to the charisma of tongues. Those who "prayed in a tongue," amid their inarticulate groanings and utterances intelligible only to God (Rom. 8 26, 1 Cor. 14 14-17), stammered forth the infant's cry, Abba, Abba.

sons and heirs of God. This one thing only need be known, if any arise to dispute the right of gentiles to be reckoned heirs of the promise. Received they the Spirit? If God have recognized as a son, who dare dispute the title? In this sense of recognition the principle was admitted as decisive in all branches of the Church. Since Pentecost it had been a "seal of the foundation," for "the Lord accrediteth them that are his." But the earliest struggle against the Jewish spirit of exclusiveness was earlier than Pentecost. To Jesus also the very essence of his mission had been to break down the artificial barriers which excluded publicans and sinners from the inheritance of sons, to resist the usurped prerogative of the "power of the keys." The scribes claimed authority to "bind and loose." By virtue of their occupation of Moses' seat they held "the key of knowledge," and used it to hinder the entrance of the repentant masses into the kingdom. Though preserved in late and variant form, the utterance attributed to Jesus which bestows this usurped power of the keys on the brotherhood of his disciples, or on their leader and representative, is a genuine echo of his championship of the people's cause, and similar parallels to the saying, "The Lord hath accredited them that are his," are to be found in Mt. 18 18,

Verily I say unto you, What things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

and in Mt. 16 17-19,

On this rock I will build my Church. . . .

I will give unto thee (Peter) the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

These reported sayings of Jesus, before they were perverted into the decretals of a new ecclesiastical despotism, were themselves a declaration of the liberty and independence of the "little flock." Instead of suffering the little ones to be excluded from the synagogue by those who held the keys, claiming power to bind and loose, making the son or daughter of Abraham who resisted their tyranny "as the gentile and the publican," he that hath the key of David restores it to his own. The key of knowledge, the key

of authority, the key of admission or exclusion, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, are given to the Church itself or to the Church in the person of Peter as its leader. Alas that the Church only repeated under the name of Peter the old-time tyranny of the scribes! These several appeals to a saying of Jesus of this type show that he was understood to have protested against the scribes' usurpation of this power, and that the references in the Pauline writings to God as the sole accreditor of his own sons have an authentic basis. Even were the reference to the son's being known of the Father held to be borrowed from Paul, yet Jesus himself had in substance established it as a "seal of the foundation of God" that not man but the Lord accrediteth them that are his.

In fact the commission of Peter in Mt. 16 17-19, with its significant reference to "the gates of Hades" which had closed upon the crucified Leader, is closely related to the commission to "Peter and the twelve" which forms the central feature in all forms of the resurrection story. God gave him to be made manifest unto them in order that *forgiveness of sins* through repentance and faith in his name might be preached unto all the gentiles, beginning from Jerusalem (Lk. 24 47-49). The authority of their commission is the authority to "loose" from sins. Its token is baptism. Its seal is the outpoured Spirit. Cf. Mt. 28 18 19, Jn. 20 21-23.

VI. BEARING OF THE SAYING ON THE MESSIANIC CONSCIOUSNESS OF JESUS.

But we are more concerned with that portion of the logion which is certainly attested by both Matthew and Luke, and which vindicated the claim of the "babes" to have that true knowledge of God without which one cannot be deemed a son. Here if anywhere we can discover the secret of the messianic consciousness of Jesus. The title "Son of man" which has been called his "favorite self-designation," and to which many turn as the principal source of first-hand knowledge on this vital point, is doubly open to question. On philological grounds it is doubtful if the phrase could have existence in the Aramaic spoken by

Jesus. If it did, that very existence was owing to connotations most foreign to the sane and well-poised quality of Jesus' character and teaching. His fundamental conception of his calling is not the apocalyptic, and appears not in the eschatological sayings but in the Sermon on the Mount. The apocalyptic notions of his mission and destiny may easily have been superimposed upon his own conception in the superheated atmosphere of the primitive Church, while the reverse is inconceivable. Jesus was not a visionary. The Danielic figure looms large to the vision of post-resurrection prophets and seers, but not on the mental and spiritual horizon of the Carpenter of Nazareth, least of all as offering a career for himself. The phrase which is really and demonstrably characteristic of him, the title which in the oldest documents of Christianity is universally pervasive, as against not one single occurrence of the term Son of man, is that of Son of God. In any case we may say that as certainly as the conception of Exodus and Hosea that Israel is God's son (to say nothing of the as yet unethicized common Semitic idea) is antecedent to the apocalyptic figure of Daniel, Enoch, and 2 Esdras, just so certainly is the conception of sonship to God in Jesus' mind antecedent to that of Son of man, whatever may have been the apocalyptic dreams to which he turned under the growing certainty of martyrdom. It is true that we give small notice to this humble title "son of God" except when the translators assist our vision with a capital letter, or when in some way its simple ethical sense is transcended; but that which really concerns Jesus and Paul is "the inheritance of sons," by which they both mean "sons of the Highest," "sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty."²⁶ It is also true that a Roman gospel, admittedly of the second generation, gives something more than an ethical meaning to this designation "the son of God," which in our logion Jesus applies to himself only as representative, leader, and champion of those whose sonship required to be vindicated. In Mark the title "the Son of God" has already a special and peculiar sense allied to the Pauline metaphysics. The outcome of this process of apocalyptic transcendentalizing appears in the vision-story of the Transfiguration, a typical apocalypse, wherein the rabbinic device of

■ Mt. 5 45 = Lk. 6 35, 2 Cor. 6 18.

the *bath gol*, or voice from heaven, is employed to set forth along with the characteristic imagery of this type of literature the author's Pauline or quasi-Pauline Christology. For the author of this vision-story the real being of Jesus was revealed when the eyes of his intimates had been enlightened to pierce the veil of his flesh and to behold the Son of God, not in the ethical, but in the apocalyptic sense, even the Beloved, of pre-existent glory. The same device of the voice from heaven and the same phraseology are employed in the preliminary narrative which Mark prefixes to his gospel. His doctrine of Jesus the pre-existent Son of God is intelligible to us, and was acceptable to his own and later generations. The Gospel of Mark became the very framework of gospel tradition. But if we look at the references to divine sonship which pervade that other source, which nearly all critics admit to be an older and better authority, we shall find the term "son of God" to bear a far different sense. Jesus is still "the son," but only as "the first-born of many brethren." This sense is as little "theocratic" as it is metaphysical. It is historic, ethical, and religious. It finds its affiliations not with the crude metaphysics of the Roman gospel, nor with the profounder and subtler speculations of the Ephesian, but in the familiar subject of dispute in the Pauline epistles, the demand for the admission to the Abrahamic inheritance of those who have no title under the law, the question whether our inspired cry of *Abba*, Father, is or is not a sufficient earnest of our sonship. Most of all it finds its attestation in the common background of current Jewish interpretation of the messianic hope.

VII. THE MESSIANIC HOPE FROM THE PROPHETS TO THE PHARISEES.

It is an utter misapprehension of this national expectation in its origin to regard it as having had primarily to do with royalty. The passage which in modern times is commonly taken as its very foundation, the promise to David of a successor to his throne,²⁷ finds scarcely an echo in the entire New Testament. In reality the hope is far older, far broader, far more fundamental. Not

²⁷ 2 Sam. 7 13, Ps. 132 11, referred to in Acts 2 30.

David's successor primarily, but Israel itself is God's son. The fundamental passage is Ex. 4 22,

Thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the Lord, Israel is my son, my first-born; and I have said unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me; and thou hast refused to let him go: behold I will slay thy son, thy first-born.

God first adopted the people,

When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt (Hos. 11 1).

If in later times he became a Father to their king, it was for the people's sake.

Professor F. C. Porter has very properly reminded us that the prophets represent themselves not as creators, but as critics of the messianic hope. The hope itself was as old as Israel. It partook in its earliest form of the crudity of the common Semitic conception of the divinity of a land as the progenitor of its population. Jahveh, however, unlike neighboring divinities, had not begotten Israel, but "adopted" him, when he was a bond-slave in Egypt. This made the relation ethical and spiritual.²⁸ "You only have I known (acknowledged)" is Jahveh's word through Amos, but this acknowledgment was the free choice of a "Lord of heaven and earth," who directs all the nations and rules them under a law of righteousness. Amos became the first great critic of this national hope by subjecting it to ethical conditions. He ethicized the doctrine of election.

In the time of Jesus the messianic hope, in spite of all its transformations and refinements, had by no means lost its fundamental significance. The experiences of the monarchy had caused it to crystallize around the theocratic figure of the son of David; the experiences of national disintegration and admixture with the world had clothed this figure with mythological attributes and widened the programme of his activity. Most of all, life under the law had profoundly modified the conception of its conditions. But even in Jesus' time the messianic hope remained fundamentally what it had always been. Israel is God's son and heir, Israel must possess God's land, that is the world. The destruction of

²⁸ Budde, *Israel before the Exile*, 1897.

Jerusalem by Titus only elicits from a groaning patriot and believer the cry,

O Lord, thou hast said that for our sakes thou madest this world. . . . And now, O Lord, behold these nations which are reputed as nothing be lords over us and devour us. But we thy people, whom thou hast called thy first-born, thy only-begotten and thy fervent lover (beloved?), are given into their hands. If the world now be made for our sakes, why do we not possess for an inheritance our world? How long shall this endure? (2 Esdr. 6 56-59).

Many were the forms under which the old belief in the adoption and the inheritance survived, from the cry of the Zealot for national hegemony to the philosopher's academic demonstration that the truly wise man is the "heir of the things belonging to God."²⁹ Of these many developments we are concerned with but one, the religious. Pharisaism had withdrawn from the nationalistic movement against the forcible hellenization of Antiochus Epiphanes, as soon as that movement degenerated into a mere struggle for self-aggrandizement on the part of the successors of Simon the Maccabee. The Pharisees became the Puritans of the first century B.C. by eliminating worldly ambition from the messianic programme. Israel's calling was to be the people of the law. Righteousness, "even that which is of the law," was to be its work and ambition in the world. Its reward was to be in a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. This was the deepest and most fruitful movement of the times in the bosom of a people whose genius had ever been religious. Its purest expression appears in the so-called Psalms of the Pharisees, nearest in sentiment of all uncanonical writings to the canticles of Luke.

In true Pharisaism, of the type which produced the noblest and greatest of the followers of Jesus, sonship in the religious sense became the very essence of the messianic hope and the true prerogative of Israel. To be the son of God by knowing and doing his will is the Pharisee's ideal for his people. The Christ, when he comes, "shall take knowledge of them that they be all the sons of their God." (Ps. Sol. 17 30). Many generations earlier we have the same ideal in the same phraseology

²⁹ Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum heres?*

from the son of Sirach. The Great Repentance of Mal. 4 ■ here became a turning in mutual reconciliation not of mere earthly families, but "of the Father (God) to the son (Israel) and of the son to the Father," thus restoring the tribes of Israel (Ecclus. 48 10). A century later than Sirach the author of the Wisdom of Solomon delineates "the righteous man" in traits that acknowledge no ethnic limitation, but he has in reality Israel—a Pharisaic Israel—to sit for the portrait.

Let us lie in wait for the righteous man,
 Because he is of disservice to us,
 And is contrary to our works,
 And upbraideth us with sins against the law.
 He professeth to have knowledge of God,
 And nameth himself son (*παῖς*) of the Lord.
 And he abstaineth from our ways as from uncleannesses.
 The latter end of the righteous he calleth happy,
 And vaunteth that God is his Father.
 Let us see if his words be true,
 Let us try what shall befall in the ending of his life;
 For if the righteous man is God's son, he will uphold him (Wisdom of Solomon 2 12-18).

An earlier contemporary of the same Alexandrian school claims it as a testimony of the wise Egyptian priests that the Jews are

men of God, a name which belongs not to others, but only to him who worships the true God. For these others are men of food and drink and clothing; for all their thought is taken for these things. But those who are of our faith give no heed to these things, but their whole life long they are concerned with searching out the works of God (Aristeas 140, *ca.* 90 B.C.).

These Alexandrian Jewish writers of the first century B.C. seem indeed "not far from the kingdom of God," with their ideal of Israel's destiny and prerogative. But we must come down to the writing of a Palestinian Pharisee almost contemporary with Jesus himself for the nearest approximation to the Sermon on the Mount in an expression of the messianic hope. He hopes for nothing less than the outpouring of ■ spirit of righteousness, God's Spirit, who by communicating his nature makes Israel indeed his son, and thereby exalted, as in the Pauline writings, "over every angel and spirit."

And Moses fell upon his face and prayed, and said: O Lord, my God, forsake not thy people and thy heritage, that it should walk in the error of its own heart, and deliver them not over into the hands of the gentiles, that these may not rule over them and compel them to sin against thee. Let thy mercy be exalted over thy people, and create in them a right disposition and let not the spirit of Belchor (Belial) rule in them, to accuse them before thee and to seduce them from all paths of righteousness, that they should perish far away from thy countenance. For they are thy people and thine heir, whom thou didst save by thy great might out of the hand of the Egyptians. Create in them a clean heart and a holy spirit and let them not be entangled in their sin henceforth and forever.

And God said unto Moses, I know their contrariness and their (evil) disposition and their stiff neck, and they will not hearken until they acknowledge their sin and the sins of their fathers. After that they will return unto me in all uprightness, with all their heart and all their soul. And I will circumcise the foreskin of the hearts of their children, and will create in them a holy spirit and make them pure, so that they shall no more turn away from me from that day to all eternity. And their soul shall follow me and all my law, and they shall do according to my commandment, and I will be a father to them, and they shall be my children. And they shall be called the children of the living God. And all angels and all spirits shall know that they are my children and that I am their Father in truth and righteousness and that I love them (Jubilees 1 19-25).

It is a Puritanism of this noble type which is represented in its degeneracy by the synagogue-system of scribe and Pharisee in the time of Jesus. After the downfall of the Maccabees reaction against Zealot nationalistic fanaticism on the one side and Sadducean worldliness on the other had thrown back the religious-minded upon the orthodoxy of the written law. The Pharisee became a blind follower of the scribe, his blind guide. Insistence on the letter of a deified law, whose ideal was separation from the ceremonially unclean,³⁰ carried exclusiveness to a degree unmatched even by the Puritanism of Scotland or New England. For the "people of the land," the "publicans and sinners," the ordinary peasant or fisherman or handicraftsman of half-heathen Galilee, the Mosaic ideal of separation was utterly impracticable, its prescriptions "a yoke which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear" (Acts 15 10), the scribes' interpretations of its requirements were a "binding of heavy burdens and grievous to be borne which they themselves touched not with one of their

³⁰ Ex. 33 16, Jer. 51 45, Ez. 20 34, 41 Is. 52 11, 2 Cor. 6 17.

fingers." The poor man, the unlettered, the ordinary artisan and father of a family saw himself under this odious and hypocritical tyranny gradually excluded from all share in the world to come. He too was a son of Abraham, but by decree of the scribes he saw himself deprived of his Abrahamic inheritance in favor of the little coterie of the Pharisees (the "separated"), whose legalistic righteousness was only too often mercenary and external. There were but two classes, the *chaberim*, or consistent devotees of the law, a religious caste withdrawing from the defiling contact even of their kindred and coreligionists of less strict observance, and the *am ha-aretz*, the out-caste who had "no share in the world to come."

The religious centre of gravity cannot be permanently swung to this social extreme. The reaction, when it came, was correspondingly sweeping and profound. John the Baptist and Jesus revived the old prophetic spirit of religious democracy. They led a rebellion of the simple Israelite against the usurpation of the Abrahamic inheritance by the scribes and Pharisees. Like another Elijah John led a "great repentance,"³¹ the token of which was the new rite of baptism, self-evident in meaning, unknown to legal prescription. The publicans and sinners flocked to him; the scribes and Pharisees held aloof. His martyrdom could not check the movement. In the Carpenter of Nazareth it found a new and greater leader, who himself sought out the lost sheep of the house of Israel in Galilee, and defended the lost son against the grudging elder brother. His fisherman followers he taught to cast nets for the scattered wanderers from the kingdom.³² Like a trustee for an orphan defrauded of his inheritance, Jesus demanded restoration to the "little ones" of their rightful part in Israel's spiritual inheritance. He insisted upon the full content of this inheritance, and on that which is of primary importance, the spiritualities, before the temporalities. The conflict with the intrenched power of scribes and Pharisees was a war to the knife. Since the days of John the Baptist—the

³¹ This was the function of Elias redivivus in contemporary legend, cf. Mal. 4 6 resting on 1 Kings 18 37. See Bacon, "Elias and the Men of Violence," Expositor, sixth series, xxxi (July, 1902).

³² Mk. 1 17, resting on Jer. 16 16.

Elias who should come as a "restorer of the tribes" to "admit those who had been wrongfully excluded and to exclude those wrongfully admitted" to Israel's inheritance³³—the kingdom of heaven had suffered violence, and men of violence were now prepared to take it by force. Jesus was unsparing in his invective against this one class, and this only; and he has not neglected to tell us why. He told them to their faces that the law and the prophets, as the charter of their monopoly, could endure only "until John." He predicted (Mt. 23) that they would not spare him; and they did not.

It was his championship in this conflict which first gave to Jesus his right to be called the Son of God. It was for the sake of his little flock that he demanded it, and for them that he defended it with his life. Sonship to God was the vital element of that religious inheritance of which the synagogue-system, the legalism of scribe and Pharisee, sought to rob the simple Israelite by its usurpation of the key of knowledge and its pretence of doing the will of the Father. Therefore it is that Jesus thanks the infinite Lord of heaven and earth that the knowledge of him is no monopoly of the wise and understanding, that it is not the learned in the law that know him but the little ones, the babes, if so be that they have the spirit of sons in kindness even to the unthankful and the evil. Such knowledge, such inward light, he claims to have in his own person, the tradition not of dead authorities, but of his Father, and he maintains that they who are qualified to give "revelation" are those who are sons in this sense. A good Samaritan is a better teacher than a selfish and cowardly priest or Levite.

More than this, he disputes also the scribal usurpation of the power to "bind and loose," to admit and to exclude. Who is the son? John the Baptist had said, "God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham," and the publicans and sinners had repented at his word. None denied the Pharisees' right to the name. But Jesus had promised salvation to the repentant publican, "forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham." Which has the better title to the inheritance of the sons of God? Jesus puts the question in the form of the parable of the two sons.

³³ So Edujoth viii, 7, resting on Ecclus. 48 10.

Whether of these twain did the will of the Father, he that said, I go, sir, and went not; or he that afterward repented and went? . . . Therefore the publicans and harlots go into the kingdom of heaven before you.

When Paul lays it down as the token of sonship that one be "led by the Spirit of God" (Rom. 8 14), he is adapting the ancient principle of the foundation of the Church, that "the Lord (by the 'seal' of the Spirit) acknowledgeth them that are his," to Jesus' more strictly ethical test, "Whosoever doeth the will of my Father, the same is my brother and sister and mother." In an earlier writing he enunciates his principle in a more primary form. In the Galatian parallel to Rom. 8 15³⁴ he defines the divine "acknowledgement" to be the sending forth into our hearts of the Spirit of his Son teaching us as sons the cry Abba, Father. Whosoever receiveth the Spirit is a son. According to Jesus, "whosoever doeth the will," were it publican, harlot, or Samaritan, is "known of God," and "doing the will" is exemplified, not in the Pharisees with their yoke of bondage, but in those whose inward disposition is akin to the Father's. Paul is not original, but only a follower of Jesus, as he claimed to be, in meeting the pretensions of intrenched and traditional authority by the self-evidencing testimony of the Spirit, which makes foolish the wisdom of the wise and gives its revelation to babes. By no other conceivable course was it possible to meet the authority of the scribes; for with them in pre-eminent degree knowledge was indeed power. Unless he were ready to abandon the cause of the disinherited "little ones," whose leader and champion he had become since John was shut up in prison, Jesus had no alternative but to maintain, "No man knoweth the Father save the son." In opposition to the "violence" which made the key of knowledge an instrument for excluding from the kingdom the repentant "publicans and harlots," while none but submissive bearers of the yoke of the law as interpreted by themselves were recognized as sons, Jesus had no alternative but to appeal to a binding and loosing that has validity in heaven. This is the principle implied, if not directly expressed, in the saying,

No man knoweth who the son is (who is a son) save the Father.

³⁴ Gal. 4 6.

VIII. LATER DEVELOPMENT.

Our oldest and most trustworthy source has but this single instance in which Jesus seems to claim messianic honors for himself. We have agreed that it may well be called "the Johanne passage," for it forms a manifest point of departure for the later theological and metaphysical interpretations of the title Son of God which reach their culmination in the Fourth Gospel. But the metaphysics is not from Jesus. In the passage from Q, historically interpreted, there is not one trace of this. There is not even the exclusive sense in which our second evangelist in two or three instances has employed the title. Jesus is simply championing the cause of the disinherited sons and daughters of Abraham, when he maintains that if any

Professeth to have knowledge of God,
And nameth himself son (*υιός*) of the Lord, . . .
And vaunteth that God is his father,

he must be a "son of the Highest," because he has that kind of spirit which the Father manifests. He is continuing the work of him who had said, "God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham," as John himself was consciously continuing the message of Amos, the prophet of ethical election. Jesus speaks simply as leader, defender, and representative of the "babes," when he thanks the "Lord of heaven and earth" for the revelation that is "delivered" to those that have eyes to see and ears to hear, though it be "hid from the wise and understanding." There is no pretension in this to superhuman, or even to messianic, dignity for his own person; and the utterance was not so understood by his hearers. Nevertheless it would logically lead to this if the conflict with the oligarchy of scribes and Pharisees were maintained. And so it was.

IX. RELATION TO THE CLAIM OF MESSIAHSHIP.

A pivotal point of the Petrine tradition embodied in our second gospel (Mk. 8 29) is the tendering to Jesus by Peter, with the support of the eleven disciples, of the title "the Christ." This

was during a temporary lull in the conflict. The great collision in Capernaum with "the scribes who came down from Jerusalem" had issued in Jesus' exile from the scene of his early popularity, and in the permanent interruption of his public teaching in Galilee. There remained, besides Samaria, which he felt no call to evangelize, only Judaea beyond Jordan, and Jerusalem. Toward these he set his face, with Jerusalem as his goal. The odds against him and his little flock would now be doubled. If he proposed to reclaim for them full rights in the temple as well as the synagogue, he would have to issue his challenge to an alliance of the priestly hierarchy with the already hostile scribal oligarchy. No wonder he predicted for himself a fate like John's. But consistency allowed no other alternative. He had either to desert the cause of the disinherited sons, or else to present their claims at the doors of the temple itself, protest against the abuses of the high-priestly clique, and demand a restoration of the temple to the uses of a house of prayer for all the people.

Under what other rôle could one become the champion of the lost sheep of the house of Israel against the faithless shepherds who had served themselves of the flock, than as the true Shepherd of Ezekiel's vision?

He shall feed them, even my servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I, the Lord, will be their God, and my servant David prince among them (Ez. 34 23-24).

If the Pharisees had not themselves led the way in cancelling all political significance from the messianic hope, Jesus could never have consented to be called the Christ. As it was, the title is to him the least acceptable of all possible descriptions of his mission. In spite of his utmost endeavor to prevent being forced into the false position of a leader of Zealot nationalistic agitation, it furnished to his enemies their best opportunity for misrepresentation, nay, the very snare by which they actually compassed his death. Palpably, manifestly, it was a crown of thorns that Peter was ignorantly offering him at Caesarea Philippi. And yet in some sense he must take it, or be recreant to the trust that the God of these lost sheep and lost sons had imposed upon him. Their inheritance was the full inheritance of sons. He was not at lib-

erty to compound with the usurpers for a part. They had no other leader or representative. The knowledge of sonship had been delivered to him. Now to these "babes" also had come something more than that revelation of the Father, and of their own sonship which he had awakened in them. They had received now a revelation on their own account. It came not from flesh and blood but from the Father himself when they now perceived that vindication of their sonship depended upon him as "the Son," the Christ.

The movement of Pharisaism had had this great merit, that it had changed the perspective of the messianic hope. Israel was first to become God's son by knowing and doing his revealed will. Afterwards it should receive its inheritance. The spirit of censorious exclusiveness, admitting to participation in the inheritance not those whose sonship was evinced by a spirit kindred to the Father's, but those only who submitted to the yoke of legal prescriptions, had shown the fatal unfitness of the Pharisees' method of attaining the messianic hope, but had left the ideal itself in broader, distincter outline and nobler proportions than ever before. The Pharisees' method was that of the Puritans of all ages.

Come ye out from among them and be ye separate, saith the Lord,
And touch no unclean thing.

Their ideal was:

And I will receive you,
And will be to you a Father,
And ye shall be to me sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

For this ideal of the messianic hope there is but one title which can appropriately be applied to the personality which becomes its leader. Such a leader must designate himself "the Christ, the Son of the living God."

R. H. Charles has called our attention to a phenomenon which confirms Professor Porter's far-reaching observation that the prophets are not creators but critics of the messianic hope. It is that the manifold titles applied to the Messiah in the literature of this period, particularly the apocalyptic literature, wherein the

figure of the Messiah plays so large a part, such titles as "the Elect," "the Just," "the Saint," "the Beloved," "the Servant," "the Heir," are in almost every instance derived from the titles bestowed on Israel as the people of God. The Messiah is "the Elect" as representative and head of the elect people, "the Just" as head and representative of "the just," "the Saint" as representing "the people of the saints of the Most High," "the Beloved"—and we may rightfully add in view of the passage cited above from Second Esdras, "the Only-begotten"—as representing the people whom God had "called his beloved, his only-begotten," "the Heir" as representing their claim to the inheritance of God's creation. It is so also with the title "the Son." For one whose ideal of the messianic hope is that of the passages quoted from Ecclesiasticus, Aristeeus, Wisdom, the Psalter of Solomon, and Jubilees, who shares the prophetic ideal as enlarged and refined by the experiences of the exile, the return, the Maccabean revolt, and the Pharisean reaction against the later Hasmonaeans, there is no title so expressive of the work to be achieved by this Friend of publicans and sinners as "the Son." Not because in some peculiar and metaphysical sense he taketh hold upon the nature of God, but because "he taketh hold on the seed of Abraham" to bring them to their inheritance, because he is "made in all points like unto his brethren," because he is "the first-born of many brethren." It is in this sense that Jesus the Son of God was willing also to become the Christ for his brethren and companions' sakes. When we go back to his own words, his claim appears in its true historical light as a sacrifice of his life to win back for the disinherited "little ones" of Israel their "right to be called the sons of God." Paul's invincible logic applied the principle to the disinherited sons of all humanity, and made Jesus known as "the Saviour of the world." When, a generation later, the Roman disciple of a disciple undertakes to relate "the gospel of Jesus, the Christ, the Son of God," he manifests the disposition we should expect. What he is eager to prove is that Jesus was endowed with this distinction in his own right by a voice from heaven, that he contended for it and was vindicated in it by a life of wonder-working power and goodness, and by a supernatural resurrection from the dead. Fortunately even Paul,

eager as he is to exalt the divinity of his Redeemer, and ready with a doctrine of his descent from pre-existent messianic glory, does not pervert the doctrine of "sonship" into something which appertains to Christ in distinction from us, but loyally presents it as that which he possesses on our behalf, and as our representative;

When the fulness of the time came God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, that he might redeem them which were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying Abba, Father. So that thou art no longer a bond-servant but a son; and if a son, then an heir, through God. Howbeit, at that time, not knowing God, ye were in bondage. . . . But now that ye have come to know God, or rather to be known of God, how turn ye back again? . . . For freedom did Christ set you free. Be not entangled again in a yoke of bondage (Gal. 4 4-9, 5 1).

JESUS AS SON OF MAN

In a discussion of the great christological passages of the Synoptic Gospels we have seen that the messianism of Jesus was pre-eminently ethical and religious. His attitude toward current expectations of Israel's redemption resembled that of the prophets in being critical rather than originaive. He ethicized and spiritualized a hope which in its origins and in its undisciplined popular manifestations had little to differentiate it from the expectations entertained by heathen worshippers of their tribal or national divinities.

As regards the political hopes of the Zealot, or nationalist, party this is universally recognized. Jesus' prohibition of the application of the title Christ to himself (Mk. 8 30)¹ is commonly explained as due to his unwillingness to be understood to claim messiahship in the political sense.

As regards the Pharisaic, or pietistic, type of messianism, then largely affected by the apocalyptists, many influential critics are endeavoring to convince the modern world that Jesus' attitude was more sympathetic than critical. The apocalyptists since Daniel had given a transcendental turn to the ancient belief, and the Pharisees, once characterized by a more ethical and inward type of pietism, were now degenerating into a more formal legalism, while they enforced the burden of Mosaic requirements imposed by the scribes under penalty of exclusion from a share in the supermundane "world to come." This doctrine of a transcendental messianic "world to come" was an acknowledged innovation borrowed from apocalypse. The contention of J. Weiss and his school is that Jesus was fundamentally an *Apo-*

¹ Parallels are not cited where there is no evidence of independent tradition. In the reference Mk. 8 30 the earliest of the three embodiments of the tradition is appealed to. The fact that it is transcribed with slight modifications in Mt. 16 20 and Lk. 9 21 adds nothing to the force of Mark's evidence.

kalypstiker, in full sympathy with this tendency, especially as represented in John the Baptist, the popularizer of the movement.

Our own attempt has been to show that Jesus' preaching of "the kingdom" involves no less truly a critical attitude toward the transcendental other-worldliness of the Pharisees than toward the worldliness of Sadducee or Zealot. We hold that with all his sympathy for the Baptist's revolt against hierocracy, with all his endorsement of the Baptist's warnings of the impending judgment, Jesus explicitly differentiated his message from that of John also, emphasizing his own milder, more mystical type of messianism. The germs of this may in fact be found in the older literature of Pharisaism, and in the kindred writings of the school of "wisdom."

Jesus' teaching, accordingly, regarding human destiny, as reflected in the messianic hope, goes deeper down and further back than Pharisaism. It is not identified with sect or party. It takes hold upon the ancient hope of Israel before it had suffered its special applications first to the institution of the Davidic monarchy, then to the post-exilic substitution of supermundane for nationalistic hopes. Jesus returns to the elementary principle of messianism, the old popular belief that Israel is (potentially) God's son. He agrees with the Pharisees that this ideal is to be realized by the son's "knowing" and "doing the will" of the Father. The difference lies partly in his conception of that "will"; for to the scribe and to his blind follower the Pharisee the will of God is a written precept to be obeyed; while to Jesus it is an inward disposition to be acquired. In this respect he approaches the wisdom-writers. The difference lies also in the result aimed at, which to the scribe and Pharisee is a reward added to the sonship, to Jesus the sonship itself with whatever of blessing that may entail (Q; Mt. 5 45, Lk. 6 35). In this respect he is more in antagonism than in sympathy with the apocalyptists, and again resembles those of the school of "wisdom," though himself not a man of the schools, but of the people.

If this interpretation of the messianism of Jesus be correct, it remains for us to explain how believers in his messiahship

should have given it the intensely transcendental and apocalyptic interpretation reflected in the earliest evangelic tradition. Both Paul and the Synoptists are saturated with the type of eschatology characteristic of the Synagogue. In both cases the messianic hope is pre-eminently transcendental. How can this be, if Jesus himself had not so taught? The answer in general terms will be that the belief in Jesus' messiahship did not spring from the utterances of his life-time, so much as from the ecstatic experiences of his followers after his death, and that these were conditioned upon the disciples' predetermined forms of thought. At first it was not even pretended that Jesus had made his own person and work the subject of his teaching. This we find only in the late theological gospel emanating from Ephesus, the headquarters of Paulinism. In all the earlier writings, whether historical or epistolary in form, the doctrine of Christ's person and work is avowedly based, not on his remembered teaching, but on psychological phenomena in the experience of Paul and others, principally after Jesus' death. And Paul was an out-and-out Pharisean apocalyptist.²

It is a highly significant fact that while our two ultimate witnesses, Paul and the evangelic tradition, are at one (as they could not fail to be) in their fundamental conviction that Jesus had been "manifested as the Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead" (Rom. 1 4), or, in Petrine phrase, had been "made" by it "both Lord and Christ" (Acts 2 36), they differ widely in the titles by which they express their conception of his being and office. The title "Lord" is that which in Paul's use expresses the nature and function of the Christ. It is not peculiar to him, for we have just seen it employed in a typical Petrine passage. Neither is it of Pauline coinage; for we find Paul quoting even an Aramaic ejaculation of which it forms part (Maran atha, "Our Lord, come"), and the phrase "Jesus is Lord" is repeatedly referred to as expressing the consensus of

² The transfiguration story is expressly designed to carry back the Pauline transcendental conception of the messiahship into the earthly career of Jesus. But even in the Synoptic tradition it intervenes as a psychological anachronism, a rebuke of the twelve, which as yet they are incapable of understanding, for conceiving the messiahship of Jesus "after the things that be of men." In the Apocalypse of Peter it is frankly placed after the resurrection.

apostolic faith. Only indirectly and incidentally have we evidence even of Paul's acquaintance with the distinctively apocalyptic title Son of Man. His quotation from Psalm 8 in 1 Cor. 15 27, and his doctrine of "the heavenly man," make us suspect indeed that in his thinking he applied to Christ, in his own distinctive way, this apocalyptic title. But from his writings otherwise we should not so much as guess that the title had ever been applied to Jesus.

The evangelic tradition, on the other hand, displays it in a manner entirely peculiar to itself. The title "Son of Man" occurs in no New Testament writing, outside of those of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and these are notoriously interdependent. If, as many maintain, its frequent occurrence in the gospels can be accounted for on no other theory than the usage of Jesus himself, our view of his eschatological teaching will require adjustment to the fact. But we shall also be required to account for its non-appearance outside the four interdependent evangelic writers. If, on the other hand, we advance some other theory to account for its occurrence here, our burden of proof will not be light. We shall not be suffered to reject the combined testimony of the four evangelists that Jesus applied the title to himself, unless we deal comprehensively with this question of the literary interdependence of the sources; for no careful student will admit that the common participation in this feature can be due to accidental coincidence. Let us face the situation. The peculiar term can only have pervaded the four gospels by transmission from some very early common source. Such a primitive common source, capable of affecting all by its use of the title Son of Man as a self-designation of Jesus, is the document Q, only the Gospel of Mark lying, as some hold, outside the range of its influence. No other source definitely known to us ever occupied a place primitive and authoritative enough to produce this result. If, then, this application of the title be a contamination of the primitive tradition rather than a true record of Jesus' usage and consciousness, the evidence for such a conclusion must be sought in the document Q.

This document has been restored more carefully by Harnack than by any predecessor in the field, from the coincident non-

markan material of Matthew and Luke. Harnack singles out the Thanksgiving to the Father (Mt. 11 25-27, Lk. 10 21-22) and the discourse on the Jews' Stumbling in Jesus (Mt. 11 2-11, 12-13, 16-19, Lk. 7 18-28, 31-35, 16 16) as the most important in all Q for their christological content.³ Having already discussed the significance of the former of these passages, we may now take the latter as our starting-point for a consideration of the question of the real origin and significance of the title Son of Man.

In Harnack's restoration the passage reads as follows: "For John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, He hath a devil. The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say, Lo, a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners. But Wisdom hath been justified by her children."

Harnack concludes his discussion of the christology of Q with a remark both just and significant: "Even with the most conservative application of psychological considerations it is apparent that Jesus' consciousness of sonship must have antedated his consciousness of messiahship, and paved the way for it." We take this to mean that of the two supposedly fundamental passages of Q⁴ Harnack himself recognizes the one distinguished by the use of the title "the Son" as more characteristic than that which employs the title the "Son of Man." Jesus unquestionably had the consciousness of sonship. He probably found in it the solution of the messianic hope cherished by the people. Did he infer from the present leadership imposed by circumstance upon the possessor of this consciousness such continued leadership in "the world to come" as current eschatology expected of the apocalyptic figure of the Son of Man? What ground have we for accepting the authenticity of the second title?

It is scarcely conceivable that in so old a source as Q the title Son of Man should be repeatedly placed in Jesus' mouth if it did not really belong in some way to his vocabulary. But this admission, while abandoning the philological line of argument of the Aramaists who maintain that in Aramaic the expression "the

³ Sprüche und Reden Jesu, p. 166.

⁴ In Harnack's Sprüche und Reden Jesu they are numbered 25 (Mt. 11 23-27, Lk. 10 21 f.) and 15 (Mt. 11 16-19, Lk. 7 31-35) respectively.

Son of Man," would be impossible, is by no means equivalent to an admission that Jesus applied the title to himself. For, first, it is not only probable but demonstrable that even our most ancient records, including Q itself, insert the title in many cases without authority, and, secondly, among the admittedly authentic instances of Jesus' own use of the term, there are several where the meaning is more characteristic of him if Son of Man is understood as applying to some other than his own glorified personality. We may take up these two propositions in order.

1. It is certainly remarkable that Harnack, in a footnote on the very same page on which occurs his classification of the discourse on the Stumbling of the Jews (Nos. 14, 15) with Jesus' Thanksgiving for his Revelation (No. 25) as the two most important christological passages of Q, expresses the following opinion on the occurrence of the title Son of Man in the former:

Of course in individual cases one is utterly without positive assurance that Jesus referred to himself as "the Son of Man" in sayings wherein Q represents him as so designating himself. It is more than doubtful, for example, that Jesus should have used the expression in No. 15;⁵ while earlier in the same discourse (No. 14, "Blessed is he that shall not be stumbled in me," etc.), he has quite manifestly avoided every messianic self-designation.

In other words, Harnack himself concedes the probable unauthenticity of the term in the passage which he advances as the most important! For we can only escape the linguistic argument of Lietzmann, Wellhausen, and N. Schmidt, that as a title "Son of Man" would be meaningless in the Aramaic spoken by Jesus, if we suppose that the etymologically colorless expression, equivalent to "human being," *homo*, *Mensch*, had acquired a more specific connotation through its application in Daniel and later apocalypses. Its employment, then, by Jesus would be either enigmatic, or distinctly messianic in the transcendental sense. Either employment would call public attention to his personality in a manner admittedly contrary to the policy of silence observed by himself and imposed upon his disciples (Mk. 8 30). Even those, accordingly, who maintain that this was Jesus' "favorite

⁵ The passage whose comparison of the coming of the Baptist with that of "the Son of Man" was quoted above.

self-designation" are cautious about admitting his employment of it otherwise than in the privacy of the apostolic circle, and subsequently to the revelation of the messiahship at Caesarea Philippi. The passage from Q regarded by Harnack as the most important manifestly meets neither of these conditions. Here, therefore, the occurrence of the title is certainly to be attributed to the redactor of Q. To him the appearance of Jesus in his work of preaching and healing in Galilee, contrasting as it did with the Baptist's warning of judgment, was the coming of the Son of Man. Jesus himself, if he really looked upon his work as fulfilling the expected coming of the Son of Man,⁶ could not have thus publicly declared it and at the same time retained the incognito which he imposed upon his disciples.

Since we are dealing with Harnack's discussion of the christology of Q, and since we are clearly within the range of his own conclusions when we infer from the passage under consideration that Q^r manifests a disposition to insert the title Son of Man without historical warrant, we may properly call attention here to a further significant observation of the same distinguished critic:

Christology as Q understood it gives a perfectly consistent and simple portrait. Q has no other conception than this: Jesus was the Messiah, ordained to divine sonship at his baptism, and all his sayings accordingly rest upon this background. If, however, the introductory narrative be removed in thought, an essentially different conception results (p. 169).

This comes very near to an admission of the contention of Wernle in the most thorough study applied to the question until Harnack's, that we must distinguish a Q¹ and a Q², attributing to the later hand (Q²) the introductory narratives relating to John the Baptist, together with some other elements.⁷ Manifestly, the two sections on Jesus' baptism by John, and on the stumbling of the Jews at John and Jesus, have in common not merely the trait of the Baptist's work, but the common purpose, not apparent in Q as a whole, of setting the personality of Jesus on the highest

⁶ On Jesus' idea of the Coming of the Son of Man, see below.

⁷ Wernle, *Synoptische Frage*, p. 226: "Diese zwei Stücke [the Baptist's discourse and the Temptation of Jesus] sehen überhaupt aus wie eine geschichtliche Einleitung, die nachträglich dem Werk vorgesetzt wurde."

plane. Here, if anywhere in Q, we must suspect secondary elements.

Besides the discount to be made on the score of this admitted *Tendenz* of Q² or Q^r, we must also ask consideration for the effect of a more general disposition of the times illustrated not only in Q, but from the Pauline epistles down to the period of the Oxyrhynchus Logia, namely, the disposition to attribute to Jesus "faithful sayings" or other current saws and apothegms having more or less affinity with his teaching, in particular "wisdom-sayings," such as that of Lk. 13 34-35, which in Mt. 23 37-39 is attributed directly to Jesus, with suppression of the actual derivation from "the Wisdom of God." The Oxyrhynchus logion "I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them," etc., is another plaint of the divine Wisdom, kindred to Baruch 3 37, similarly put in the mouth of Jesus. There is strong textual reason for so regarding Mk. 2 27 also, which appears neither in the parallels nor in the β text, but is found as a rabbinic saying in *Joma* (fol. 85). To this category of aphorisms included among the sayings of Jesus from very early times because of resemblances of phraseology or content must, in our judgment, be reckoned at least one whose strongest title to the place it occupies is its employment of the expression "the Son of Man." It is the saying of Q: "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head" (Mt. 8 19-20, Lk. 9 57-58). The very mode of its employment here (in antithesis to the birds and beasts) is so different from any other of the employments attributed to Jesus, and the plaintive tone of self-pity so opposite to the grateful assurance of his hospitable reception in Mk. 10 29 f. (cf. Lk. 8 3, 10 38-42, 22 35), that we cannot regard the saying as authentic.⁸ It seems to be a current aphorism contrasting the helplessness of the individual human being, a waif and stray when left alone in the environment of nature, with the self-sufficiency of birds and beasts. Only by a play upon the expression "Son of Man" can it be applied to Jesus at all. Even were its authenticity admitted, there is the same reason in this case as in that of the saying contrasting

⁸ Against Harnack, who exclaims, apropos of the same, "Welch' ein Zeichen der Echtheit!" (p. 165).

Jesus' mode of life with the Baptist's for questioning its use of the title Son of Man under the circumstances described. It seems far more probable that this pendant to the warning against superficial discipleship (Mt. 8 21 f., Lk. 9 59 f.) has been taken up merely because of a misunderstanding of its untechnical use of the term "the son of man."

A third instance of Jesus' employment of the title Son of Man, adduced by Harnack in his reconstruction of Q, we are also compelled to reject as unauthentic, though it may possibly have stood in the source. Jesus is reported to have presented "the Son of Man" as "a sign to this generation in explanation of his offer of 'the sign of Jonah.'" Since it occurs in the same discourse as the instance first adduced, which Harnack himself considers doubtful on the ground that Jesus manifestly avoids making a public claim to messianic authority, it is difficult to see the consistency of maintaining the authenticity of this. However, we need not insist on this point, for it is easy to show independently that the explanation offered of "the sign of Jonah" is secondary and unauthentic.

We have at least four variant accounts of Jesus' answer to the demand for a sign from heaven. The oldest of our existing sources presents the enigma without any attempt at solution. Mk. 8 11, 12 (Mt. 16 1-4) treats it as simply a refusal to the unworthy people of their demand for an evidential miracle. Jesus "sighed deeply in his spirit and saith, Why doth this generation seek after a sign? Verily I say unto you, There shall no sign be given unto this generation." The addition, "no sign but the sign of Jonah," made in Matthew's transcript of this verse, is of course due to the influence, direct or indirect, of Q. Both forms of the Markan version agree, however, in representing that Jesus did not make a merely apparent refusal of the demand (which after all was ultimately to be granted), but made absolute the refusal of miraculous confirmation of his message. Both our first and our third Gospels, contrariwise, introduce explanations of the enigma calculated to mitigate the inconsistency of the refusal with their own disposition to find the chief evidences for their claims precisely in the miraculous element of Jesus' career, in particular the resurrection. The explanations given, however,

are inconsistent the one with the other. Critics are agreed that Matthew's interpretation of the sign of Jonah as the resurrection is too flagrantly contradictory of the context to be authentic. They are very generally disposed, however, to accept the explanation of Luke that the sign of Jonah is the person of Jesus.⁹ In reality we have only to place the two side by side in the identical context to see that both are guesses, Luke's only less inconsistent than Matthew's with the general bearing of Jesus' discourse. We give the context in a translation of Harnack's text of Q.

But he said, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and no sign shall be given it save the sign of Jonah.

<p>For like as Jonah was in the sea-monster's belly three days and three nights, so shall the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights.</p>	<p>For like as Jonah was himself a sign to the men of Nineveh, so shall the Son of Man be to this generation.</p>
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The men of Nineveh shall arise in the judgment with this generation and shall condemn it, because they repented at the preaching of Jonah, and lo, a greater matter than Jonah is here.

A glance at Mt. 21 23-32, which, if not also embodying material from Q, is at all events in substance a parallel to the story of the Galilean demand for a sign from heaven, will show that in Jesus' conception the great sign of the times was the repentance of the masses at "the baptism of John." It was to him a fulfilment of the promise (Mal. 4 6) of the great repentance to be wrought by Elias before the Day of Yahweh. In remaining callous to this movement of the publicans and sinners the scribes and Pharisees had rejected their sign "from heaven." Thus the two examples of the Ninevites and the Queen of the South condemn "this generation" for its rejection of the "wailing" of John and the "piping" of Jesus. It is compared to "children in the market-place" because it yields neither to threat nor to entreaty. Whether, then, we have in Mt. 11 and Mt. 21 duplicate traditions of the same incident, or parallel utterances of

⁹ Jn. 6 30 ff. combines these two.

Jesus on similar occasions, in either case they determine for us the sense of the answer unfavorably comparing the men of this generation to the men of Nineveh. It is only in the second member of the poetic comparison, that which compares them unfavorably to "the Queen of the South," that Jesus refers to his own preaching as "a greater matter" than the wisdom of Solomon.¹⁰ In the first member he refers to the preaching of *John the Baptist*. Both the interjected explanations of the sign of Jonah, therefore, Luke's as well as Matthew's, are incorrect; and, if incorrect, then certainly unauthentic. Jesus referred by this expression¹¹ neither to his own personality nor to his resurrection, but to "the baptism of John."

2. Dismissing those instances whose real bearing attests not an authentic use by Jesus of the title Son of Man in application to himself, but on the contrary a disposition on the part of transmitters of the tradition to multiply unauthentic instances, we come to a relatively small residuum whose first value is to explain the *Tendenz* observed. Jesus really did employ the phrase; otherwise the *Tendenz* would be inexplicable. But did he employ it in application to himself? A satisfying answer calls for consideration of every authentic instance without exception, first of all the undisputed occurrences in Q. They are as follows:

(1) Mt. 12 32, Lk. 12 10.¹²

(2) Mt. 24 27, 37, 39, Lk. 17 24, 26, 30.

The former passage is one of the principal bones of contention between Wellhausen and the critics who continue to maintain the priority of Q to Mark. In Wellhausen's view, comparison of the variants in Mt. 12 31, 12 32, derived respectively

¹⁰ Note the similar antithesis in Lk. 12 13-34, where Solomon appears as the rich and wise king of Ecclesiastes in contrast with the poverty of Jesus and his followers.

¹¹ Assonance between the names John and Jonah may have played a part.

¹² It is not apparent from Harnack's language in note 2 on p. 165 whether he regards this occurrence as "unsicher," as well as that in Lk. 12 8, where the parallel Mt. 10 32 has simply "I," or whether he holds to Mt. 12 32, Lk. 12 10 as certainly authentic. The former is designated by him No. 34^a the latter No. 34^b. His statement on p. 165 is: "Doch ist er [der Ausdruck Menschensohn] in Nr. 34 unsicher."

from Mk. 3 28 and Q (cf. Lk. 12 10), shows the priority of Mark to Q. He says:

In Mk. 3 28 we have: All blasphemies are forgiven *the sons of men*, except blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. In Q (Lk. 12 10) on the contrary: Utterances against *the Son of Man* are forgiven, only those against the Holy Spirit are not.

Were Wellhausen right, Q would be convicted in one more instance of introducing the title Son of Man with no better authority than a perversion of Mk. 3 28, thus increasing the probability that it is from later modification that the peculiar usage has pervaded gospel tradition.

But on this question we are constrained to take the view of Wellhausen's opponents. "Son of Man" is the original, "sons of men" the derived form. This is not a mere inference from the conclusion forced upon us by the evidences of Q's priority in all other instances of relation to Mark, it is apparent from the context of this particular discourse. According to all three reporters the utterance in question should explain the peculiarly heinous nature of the offence just committed (the declaration, "He casteth out by Beelzebub") which excepts it from even the divine pardon. According to Q (Mt. 12 32, Lk. 12 10) this is because, while seemingly directed only against Jesus, it had really assailed the Spirit of God. Because it is not Jesus personally who effects the healings and exorcisms, but "the Spirit of God," the offence is unpardonable. This is precisely the distinction which Mark, in accordance with the whole spirit of his gospel as shown in repeated instances, refuses to admit. The difference pointed to by Jesus between his exorcisms, performed "by the Spirit (Lk. finger) of God," without any assumption of special power or gift resident in himself, and the exorcisms of "your sons" (Mt. 12 27 f., Lk. 11 19 f.),—a vital element of the whole argument,—is omitted by Mark. The result—the intended result, so far as we can judge—is to make it appear that blasphemy of Jesus, by calumny of his works of power, is identical with blasphemy of the Holy Spirit, and hence unpardonable. In Q the offence is unpardonable because it is not against Jesus, but against the Holy Spirit. In Mark the offence is unpardonable because it *is*

against Jesus, and this is equivalent to an offence against the Holy Spirit. It is scarcely needful to indicate which of these two constructions of Jesus' utterance bears the stamp of originality and authenticity.

But the later Markan construction would have encountered an insuperable obstacle if the language of Q, "Whosoever blasphemeth the Son of Man it shall be forgiven him," had been left unchanged. The alteration in Mk. 3 28 to "All blasphemies shall be forgiven to *the sons of men*" is indispensable to Mark's conception, and hence was probably made for this reason.

Have we, then, by establishing in this instance the originality in Q of the title Son of Man, established its authenticity as a title applied by Jesus to himself? On the contrary, the whole force of Jesus' argument depends upon the distinction between his own personality as on a level with other men's, and the superhuman dignity of "the Spirit of God." In other words, the term Son of Man is used here not in the transcendental sense of apocalypse, but in the ordinary Old Testament sense of an every-day mortal as contrasted with God. The article, if the article was used in Jesus' utterance, would have to be understood as generic,—in German, *die Lästerung gegen den Menschen wird vergeben*, which in English must be rendered: "Blasphemy against a man can be forgiven." This, by all the evidence of context, is the real meaning of Jesus' saying. If there is application of a special title to Jesus himself in the passage of Q, it is not meant by Jesus, but is the importation of the compiler himself.

(3) The only other occurrences of the title Son of Man in Q stand in a single context, and unquestionably refer to the apocalyptic figure of the transcendental, Danielic, Deliverer. We give the passage in Harnack's reconstruction (No. 56):

If, then, they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the wilderness, go not forth; behold, he is in his chambers, believe it not. For as the lightning goeth forth from the east and shineth unto the west, so shall be the Coming of the Son of Man; wheresoever the carcase is, there will the vultures be gathered.

As were the days of Noah, so shall be the Coming of the Son of Man. For as men were in the days before the cataclysm, eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into

the ark, and knew not until the cataclysm came and swept them all away, so shall be the Coming of the Son of Man.

There will be two in the field; one shall be taken and one left. Two women shall be grinding at the mill; one shall be taken and one left.

If there is any real ground in Q for regarding the title Son of Man as a "self-designation of Jesus," it must be found in these three connected occurrences of the phrase "the Coming of the Son of Man." Did Jesus mean by it his own return in glory; or did he refer to the Executioner of the divine judgment of whom John the Baptist had sounded the warning?

The general bearing of the teaching here in question is the same as of the apocalyptic chapter of Mark, into which parallel utterances have been taken up. Jesus deprecates resort to the casters of horoscopes and calculators of the end of the world and of the coming judgment. Vain and futile are their predictions. The coming of the Son of Man is a great divine event, comparable only to the mighty judgments visited on the earth in the days of Noah, or on the cities of the Plain in the days of Lot. What Old Testament writers refer to as the Day of Yahweh is now spoken of as the day of the coming of the Son of Man. We must certainly allow for the effecting in popular usage of an equivalence between the transcendental figure of Daniel (with the more recent apocalypses dependent on it) and the Coming One of John the Baptist. But there is no indication whatever that the equivalence, "Jesus is the Son of Man," had entered the mind of the speaker in the above discourse, or indeed any mind previous to that of the compiler of the Sayings. Until it can be shown (1) that Jesus regarded himself as the Messiah; (2) that he also considered this office to involve his return as executioner of the divine judgment in the coming of the Son of Man, the passage—the only one in which we have reason to think Jesus employed the title as applying to a transcendental figure—remains utterly without force to prove the contention in support of which it is adduced. The real evidence that Jesus entertained the fantastic dreams of apocalypse as applying to his own personality in a resurrected state thus reduces itself to nothing. There is evidence in plenty that the compiler of Q in the form employed by our evangelists had adopted the equivalence, "Jesus

is the Son of Man," and made no scruple of occasionally substituting the title for the personal pronoun where it seemed to him appropriate. There is here a possible explanation of the practice which has spread to all the gospels. There is no adequate evidence that Jesus ever applied the title to himself.

We have two possible criteria to determine whether this possible explanation of the spread of the usage is also the true one. (1) Mark, if at all dependent on Q, is admittedly so in a different sense and to a less degree than Matthew or Luke. We should expect, then, to find the title Son of Man less at home (so to speak) in Mark than in Q. (2) In Acts, especially in the speeches of Peter, we have by common consent a very early type of christology, if indeed we have not traces of a type of evangelic tradition wholly unaffected by Q. Let us briefly consider these two criteria.

(1) The facts regarding the Markan employment of the title are briefly summarized on p. xxxviii of the introduction to my commentary entitled *Beginnings of Gospel Story*, as follows: "The title Son of Man does not appear to characterize the fundamental elements of Mark (P). It occurs in editorial supplements derived from Q, and even then in an adapted sense." Space limitations of course preclude the citation here of the evidence on which this statement is made, but a reference to the individual instances as discussed in the volume quoted will suffice. The title does not appear from these to be indigenous to Mark, but an exotic. It occurs only in passages where there is independent evidence of the influence of Q.

(2) There is *no* occurrence of the title Son of Man throughout the Petrine speeches of Acts, though these are so largely concerned with the doctrine of Christ's humiliation and exaltation. As is well known, its only occurrence in the New Testament outside the four gospels is in the Speech of Stephen, Acts 7 56, recognized by Harnack and many others as derived from a different source. Even here it is not the words of the speech itself, but of its reporter, which suggest the equivalence, "The Son of Man is Jesus." On the theory that this was "the favorite self-designation of Jesus" the striking fact of its complete absence from the speeches of Peter in Acts remains as inexplicable as the equally unbroken silence of Paul.

We have reached the conclusion of our examination of the data. A just valuation of all the documentary evidence will at least compel us to admit a large discount from its *prima facie* impression. The alleged consensus of witnesses may easily reduce itself to the testimony of one, and the evidence of this one, the compiler of Q, is not altogether consistent with his own material or with the indirect evidence of others. Against it stands the incongruity of the conception with other teachings of Jesus, and the case with which the enthusiastic apocalypticism of the early church might pass from certain sayings about the "Coming of the Son of Man" to the equivalence, "Jesus himself is the coming Son of Man." The preponderance of evidence would seem to incline toward an origin for this equivalence not in the sane and sober mind of Jesus, but in the exalted and visionary expectations of a church on fire with momentary expectations of the end.

JESUS AS LORD

In successive discussions of the title Son of God, which seems to have been Jesus' own self-designation, and Son of Man, which would seem to have been applied to him after his death by the primitive Aramaic-speaking community of believers in his second coming, we have sought to disentangle primitive from secondary tradition. We have particularly emphasized the fact that in its distinctive principles Jesus' own teaching attaches itself to the primitive form of the messianic ideal—Israel as Yahweh's son; not the later theocratic—the Davidic heir to the throne as Son of God; nor the still later apocalyptic—the supernatural deliverer coming on the clouds of heaven as the fulfilment of the promise. In agreement with this view of the teaching of Jesus, our earliest documents, the Pauline epistles, make sonship in the ethical and religious sense the essence of the glad tidings. Since the publication of our argument our conclusions have been confirmed by the important newly-discovered document, the *Odes of Solomon*. The confirmation is especially strong if the view of Harnack be taken, that the Odes in their original form are Jewish, rather than the view of their discoverer, J. Rendel Harris, who regards them as Christian. The Odes give irrefutable evidence of the existence in first-century Judaism, or at least in primitive Christian circles, of a doctrine of sonship in the ethical and religious sense closely in line with what we have urged as the distinctive element in the messianic consciousness of Jesus. The ideal of the odist for Israel is an ideal of spiritual sonship. By the knowledge and love of the Beloved, "the Most High and Merciful," Israel is guaranteed not only sonship to God, but immortality, an eternal dwelling in God's presence.

The point was also emphasized against those who regard the

title Son of Man as "the favorite self-designation of Jesus," and who in logical consistency make apocalyptic eschatology the dominant note in his message, that of three great sources of evidence, (1) the Pauline epistles, (2) Petrine tradition as embodied in Acts and the groundwork of Mark, (3) the Matthaean Precepts of the Lord, it is only the third which gives independent evidence of the currency of the title; and this source, corresponding to the Q-document of critics, is, if not the latest, certainly not the earliest of the three. To the Pauline gospel the title Son of Man is completely unknown. To the Petrine, so far as we are able to reproduce it, it is equally unknown. Its occurrence is strictly limited to the Aramaic source which circulated in that portion of the church which looked to James the Lord's brother as "the bishop of bishops," and to writings directly affected by this Judaeian influence, such as our canonical gospels, including one occurrence in Acts. In early post-canonical literature we find it used only by Hegesippus in his report of the martyrdom of James,¹ by the Gospel according to the Hebrews,² and by the so-called Traditions of Matthias.³

It remains for us to show, as the final link in our chain of evidence for the priority of the ethical and religious form of Christian messianism, that there is no vacancy in the gospels of Peter and of Paul on this score; but that in their christology the doctrine that "Jesus is Lord" occupies the place taken in Matthaean tradition by the doctrine, "Jesus is the Son of Man."

In the Pauline epistles and the Petrine speeches of Acts we meet with many expressions which throw light upon the real origin of the worship of Jesus as a superhuman being. Occurring as they do in completely stereotyped form, and in documents some of which at least are much older than Q and none of which betrays any knowledge of the title Son of Man, they certainly justify the inference that the doctrine, "Jesus is Lord," is not a mere substitute for the Danielic form, "Jesus is the Son of Man," nor an outgrowth from it; but that the two represent rather parallel and independent types of christology. "Jesus is the Son

¹ Cf. Euseb., *H. E.* ii, 23 13.

² Cf. Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 2.

³ Cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* iv, 6 35.

of Man" may be regarded, so to speak, as a translation into the dialect and phraseology of Palestine of the doctrine which Greek-speaking Christians expressed in the confession, "Jesus is Lord."

We have seen in the preceding discussion that Paul does not hesitate to employ such Aramaic terms as *Abba*, *Maranatha*, *Amen*; he certainly does not shrink from addressing gentile converts as "men that know the law." It is, therefore, not easy to suppose that he avoided the title, the Son of Man, the "favorite self-designation of Jesus," because it could not be understood in Greek without a reference to Daniel 7 12-14. No more could the Hebrew phrase *ben 'adam* in Aramaic; yet it found currency there in the form *bar 'enash*, and, having made the transition from Hebrew to Aramaic, it surely could, had there been occasion, have similarly passed over into Greek. In point of fact we know that it ultimately did. But not in Paul's day. It was quite a different term which he borrows from the Aramaic. In fact there lies an important clew to the actual beginnings of christology in that watchword, *Maranatha*, which comes down to Paul from a period so primitive that Aramaic is still the general language of the church. For the watchword of the church echoed by Paul is not *barnash atha*, "the Son of Man cometh," but *maran atha*, "our Lord cometh." It is in fact, as we shall see, the title *κύριος*, the Greek equivalent of the Aramaic *mar*, which is made prominent wherever the question concerns Jesus' divine authority. Only such a title as this, indicative of the holder's right to command obedience in all things, could be expressive of Christian fealty. Accordingly we find it in more than one passage where it is clearly chosen to express this sense of fealty.

First of all, the Pauline passage where this Aramaic watchword occurs (1 Cor. 16 22) is itself significant, not merely because First Corinthians is the best authenticated writing of the New Testament, and some twenty years older than our earliest gospel, but because on this occasion Paul coins a phrase intended to be distinctive of the genuine Christian. Side by side stand the Greek title and the Aramaic equivalent: "If any man loveth not the Lord (τὸν κύριον), let him be accursed. *Maranatha*." Paul's own dictum is here reinforced by the phrase caught up from

primitive assemblies, kindled to enthusiasm by "visions and revelations of the Lord," assemblies where,

"with echoes long and loud,
The mighty Maranatha smote the air."

Another passage from this same epistle is still more indicative of the part played by the word in primitive tests of loyalty. When it became necessary to distinguish real from pretended utterances of the Spirit, the test which Paul offered was this: "No man can say *Jesus is Lord* but by the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor. 12 3). This is surely intended not as an ordinary pious ejaculation, but as a solemn confession. The principle laid down is manifestly fallacious unless the utterance of the confession is understood as a pledge of fealty and obedience.

Or, if further evidence be required that the title Lord embodied—at least for the Pauline churches—the distinctive element of the Christian's faith, let us take the passage where Paul formulates the essential content of the common faith in writing to believers in Rome—and these were no mere converts of his own who might be supposed to represent only some special type. The form in which the confession is drawn is this: "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth *Jesus as Lord*, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved" (Rom. 10 9). Once more, outward expression of the common faith of believers takes the form of the confession, *Jesus is Lord*.

These passages are selected from the greater Pauline epistles because it is apparent from their nature that the author is not coining a new title, but purposely employing the one which has most universal acceptance, both in Greek-speaking and Aramaic-speaking churches, and which most fully expresses in a single word the full content of the common faith. That word is *κύριος*, the imperial title expressive of complete sovereignty, ownership, and dominion. When used absolutely, its reference could be to nothing less than supreme lordship over the created world. When used with the genitive of the pronoun ("my Lord," "our Lord," etc.), it expressed a relation of personal loyalty, for which the abstract "Son of Man" gave little opportunity. If anywhere, then, surely in the phrase, "Jesus is Lord," we have the very

phraseology of what was termed "confession of (or in) the Name." Yes; for this lordship, or sovereignty, of Jesus must not only be loyally maintained against the empire, but "angels and principalities and powers in the heavenly places" are to be made subject unto him.⁴

Turn for a moment to a later document. A writer who in the name of "Peter" encourages the Pauline churches of Asia Minor to steadfastness under persecution urges heroism to "glorify God in this name" (of Christ), but inwardly to "sanctify in their hearts *Christ as Lord*." This was after Paul's death, and against an imperial despot who had directed that his decrees be issued in the form "*dominus et deus noster*." But to Paul also this name, Lord, marked the prerogative of Christ against both earthly and heavenly potentates. Every knee must bow, of beings in heaven, or beings on earth, or beings under the earth, and every tongue must join in the supreme confession "that *Jesus Christ is Lord*, to the glory of God the Father." This, then, is "the name which is above every name" given to Jesus because of his supreme exemplification of the principle, "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted,"—the name of Lord.

It will not be without significance to our further inquiry into the origins of this primitive christological confession to ask where Paul finds the name of Lord so given. For answer we need only turn to the parallel passage on the exaltation of Jesus in 1 Cor. 15 25, where a few words, quoted from the scripture that Paul has in mind, reveal the fact that he is thinking of the famous messianic Psalm: "The Lord said unto *my Lord*, Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool."⁵ And it needs only the further comparison of Rom. 14 10 f., where the same

⁴ It is not within the province of the present discussion to point out the practical superiority of a formula expressive of the sentiment of personal loyalty over a formula expressive only of abstract belief. Nevertheless, in days like ours, when efforts are being made to find a watchword of union, one can hardly resist asking the question, Why not return to the earliest attested of all? Thousands who differ widely in their definitions of the person of Christ, and their theories of the nature of this redemption, stand ready to unite upon the principle of a common loyalty to a common Master. Why not unite on the confession of "Jesus as Lord"?

⁵ Cf. also Rom. 8 34, Eph. 1 20, Col. 3 1.

fundamental passage (Is. 45 23) is used as in Phil. 2 11, to prove that this bowing of the knee and confession of the tongue are to be "before the judgment-seat of Christ." In other words, this is the Pauline form of the doctrine of Jesus as the Son of Man.

But herewith we begin a transition from passages which merely evidence the practice of the Pauline churches to another group which evidence both the practice and its origin, and which appear not in Pauline literature only, but in that which has best title to represent to us the Petrine type of doctrine.

This can hardly be said to be the case with First Peter, an epistle which even Zahn acknowledges to be Pauline in contents, though bearing—to his mind legitimately—the name of Peter. Because of this Pauline character of First Peter we have simply placed its exhortation to the Pauline churches to "sanctify in their hearts Jesus as Lord" in the group of Pauline evidences. Second Peter, on the other hand, is so generally recognized as both spurious and late as to merit no place in serious comparison of Petrine with Pauline tradition. The case is different, however, with the speeches placed in the mouth of Peter by the author of Acts. These are admitted to present, whether incorporated from earlier sources or composed by the evangelist, a peculiar and very primitive type of christology, easily distinguished from the Pauline because it has no trace whatever of the conception of the pre-existence of Jesus or of the atoning significance of his death. Here, then, is at least an early and independent type of christology, entitled to be designated "Petrine," if only because it is presented under the name and authority of Peter and is in reality different from the Matthaean on the one side and the Pauline on the other. It should not surprise us that the nearest affinity of this type of christology is with the Gospel of Mark in its more fundamental outlines, those least affected by accommodation to Pauline ideas or the influence of the Q-source; for the Markan, too, is a type credibly reported to rest upon the teaching of Peter. But the main point of our reference to the christology of Acts is that the author grounds the church's faith upon the same confessional basis as does Paul, and by appeal to the same scripture. The starting-point of "Luke's" story of the spread

of the gospel is Peter's demonstration to the multitudes assembled at Pentecost, partly on the basis of the phenomena of "spiritual gifts," and partly on the basis of the Psalm quoted in 1 Cor. 15 25, that God had given to Jesus *the name of Lord*.

For the author of the Petrine speeches of Acts one demonstration is vital, all else hangs upon it. It is the demonstration from the coincidence of prophetic scripture and present experience that God hath "made that same Jesus, whom ye [his countrymen] crucified, *both Lord and Christ*." In the conception of "Luke" this marks the beginning of the Christian church. His preliminary chapter (Acts 1) merely recapitulates the ending of Jesus' earthly career, glorified as it had been by the promise of an enthronement soon to follow. Until Pentecost Jesus had not been Lord or Christ. He had been Yahweh's Servant sent to bless Israel by turning them away, every man from his iniquities (Acts 3 26). Pentecost is the Servant's coronation day. From henceforth as Lord he occupies "the throne of glory." "The heavens must receive him," says Peter in his next address, "until the times of restoration of all things." Then God in his mercy will send him *as the Christ*. For it is the nationalistic phase of christology, rather than the apocalyptic, or transcendental, which here appears as the distinctive trait supplementary to the Pauline. The new fulfilments of Scripture appealed to besides Ps. 110 1 are the promises of the outpouring of the spirit of prophecy (Joel 2 28-31), the promises of an heir to the throne of David (Ps. 132 11, 2 Sam. 7 12 f.), and the "prophet like unto Moses" (Deut. 18 15). True, the nationalistic christology shows the influence of apocalypse. It has been, so to speak, transcendentalized. But the only actual trace of the doctrine of the Son of Man "coming with clouds" is in the angels' promise to the witnesses of the ascension: "Ye shall see him in like manner coming again" (Acts 1 11). The real difference from Pauline christology is not that the author reverts toward the apocalyptic doctrine of a pre-existent or transcendental Son of Man. On the contrary, he does not even adopt Paul's doctrine of incarnation. As Pfleiderer has so justly and discriminatingly pointed out, the christology of the "Petrine" source of Acts is a doctrine of apotheosis, the apotheosis of the Suffering Servant. "Peter"

merely supplements the Pauline doctrine that "Jesus is Lord" by adding an expression of the national hope that he will soon reappear as "the Christ."

Peter's preaching to gentiles is represented in Acts 10 36-43, where the gospel message is summarized in a preliminary statement as the doctrine that Jesus Christ "is Lord of all" (*πάντων κύριος*).

Surely, if the dominant note in Jesus' teaching was the doctrine of the Danielic, transcendental Being to appear upon the clouds, and if Son of Man was his favorite self-designation, it is surprising that "Peter" should lay the very foundations of the church's faith in these successive speeches, and never once employ the title or allude to the predictions. The doctrine of the Lordship is here. It is supplemented now by the doctrine of a preliminary work of the Christ-to-be,—Jesus the Servant sent to effect the great Repentance, the prophet like unto Moses, mighty in deed and word before God and all the people, the son and heir of David—of which little or nothing appears in Paul. The doctrine of the coming Day of Judgment is present, as in Paul (compare Acts 10 42 and 17 31 with 1 Thess. 1 10). Only the phraseology employed, and the scriptures appealed to, give no more ground than in Paul to think of the title Son of Man, or indeed of any apocalyptic teaching of Jesus, as the starting-point of the Petrine christology.

To judge, then, by these two strands of primitive tradition, the Pauline and "Petrine," it was not a self-designation of Jesus, but the manifestation of him as Lord, which became the starting-point of the faith. This result is in complete conformity with the thorough and scholarly discussion of Professor S. J. Case on "ΚΥΡΙΟΣ as a Title for Christ,"⁶ wherein he disproves the current idea that the deification of Jesus was a result of the use of *κύριος* in the Septuagint as a rendering of the Hebrew divine name, and the application to Jesus of Old Testament passages in which the term occurred. The practice existed, but it is not primitive; nor could the confusion have occurred in an Aramaic-speaking community or among those familiar with the Hebrew Scriptures.

⁶ Journal of Biblical Literature, vol. xxvi (1907), pp. 151-161.

It is most conspicuous in writers, like the author of Hebrews,⁷ whose only acquaintance with the Scriptures seems to be through the Greek. Neither the address of prayer to Jesus, nor the application to him of Scripture that originally referred to God, gives adequate warrant for the theory in question. As Case points out, prayer addressed to Jesus—always exceptional, and progressively rarer as we approach the earliest times—implies only “that God and Christ have similar positions *in relation to men*,” not that Jesus is treated as God. In particular the one supreme messianic gift, potentially inclusive of all others, is the gift of “the Spirit.” As a pledge of adoption to sonship and heirship, and as the “earnest” of immortality, it is naturally regarded as the all-inclusive object of prayer (compare Luke 11 13 with Mt. 7 11). But the Spirit, while ultimately “the gift of God” (Acts 8 19 f., Jn. 4 10), is in a special and peculiar way the gift of Christ. The “outpouring” of it is secured by his exaltation to the messianic throne (Acts 2 33, Eph. 4 7-12); it is conditioned by his going to the Father (Jn. 16 7 ff., 20 17, 22). Prayer in general, then, might well be “in the name” of Jesus; prayer for the Spirit particularly we might even expect would sometimes be addressed to the risen “Lord.” If cases exist in early times of prayer so addressed, they certainly do not imply confusion between his person and that of the Supreme Deity. On this point the philological argument of Professor Case is conclusive.

In reality the attempt to account for the apotheosis of Jesus by literary causes falls little short of absurdity. The worship of Jesus did not originate in the scriptorium. It was a product of real experience among men most of whom had little to do with the scribes. After it had begun, Scriptural apologetic came into play, and exercised an important, perhaps a dominant, influence upon the form and mode of its development. And this is reflected in the philological phenomena. As Case has again pointed out, when Paul “writes *μαρτυρεῖ* to the Corinthians it is per-

⁷ A notable instance is the quotation of Ps. 102 25 ff. in Heb. 1 10-12 as if applying to Christ as creator. See the present writer's discussion in *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. iii, 1902. Here the doctrine is of course a Pauline doctrine.

fectly plain that he is passing along a phrase which originated with Aramaic-speaking Christians." Moreover, the title embodied, *mar* or *maran*, was not taken from Scripture, but from the ordinary usage of common life. It is the exact equivalent of the Greek κύριος, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, which Paul and "Peter" substitute for it. We certainly "may believe that Jesus was called 'Lord' even during his earthly life."⁸ It was not this usage, however, which gave significance to the title, but the experience of those who after his death felt that they had received a manifestation of his God-given sovereignty. We may at first be tempted by the coincident appeal in so many different passages⁹ to Ps. 110 1 to think of this Psalm itself, either in its original form, or as employed by Jesus, according to Mk. 12 35 f., as having given rise to the conviction. It is true that there is much to indicate that even Paul was not the first to hit upon this scripture as a proof-text in support of the Lordship. Its apologetic use no doubt reacted upon the doctrine it was used to support. But here, as elsewhere, the conviction came first, and the proof-text was discovered afterward. Case is certainly right in saying, "It was not any similarity of usage between *yhwh* and *mar* that led to the custom [of applying Old Testament language spoken of Yahweh to Christ], for in Aramaic this did not exist; but the practice was due to an apologetic necessity on the part of those who claimed that God had exalted their Messiah to a place of heavenly lordship."

Our real question accordingly is this: What was it which produced the conviction of the exaltation of Jesus to "the throne of glory" in the minds of the primitive disciples, an exaltation for which the suitable term to those of Aramaic speech seemed to be *maran* and to those of Greek speech ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν? To judge by the coincidence between Acts 2 32 f. and Eph. 4 7-11, it was the phenomena of Pentecost accepted as tokens of a sovereignty conferred upon Jesus. The spiritual gifts were proofs to his followers, who found themselves thus suddenly

⁸ Case, *ibid.* p. 161.

⁹ In addition to Acts 2 34 f. and 1 Cor. 15 25, see especially Rom. 8 34, Eph. 1 20, Col. 3 1. Pss. 110 and 8, combined in 1 Cor. 15 25-27, are made almost the entire Scripture substratum of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

"endued with power from on high," that he had been exalted and enthroned.¹⁰ Fundamentally, the argument of Paul and of "Peter" is the same. The phenomenon of the gift of the Spirit is the datum to be explained. Both revert at once to the common scripture: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand." Thereafter the apologetic varies. According to "Peter" this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel concerning "the last days." According to Paul this is that which is referred to by the Psalmist when he describes the triumph of Yahweh over his enemies: "When he ascended on high he led captivity captive and gave gifts unto men." The exaltation, or ascension, is proved by the visible and audible phenomena. The Scripture citations are apologetic proof-texts. Latest of all comes the narrative of visible transportation of the glorified body of Jesus through the clouds, while angels explain the significance of the occurrence to astonished bystanders.¹¹

It is among the Scripture proof-texts cited after the event, and not among the causes of the belief, that we must reckon the argument put in the mouth of Jesus by our oldest evangelist in Mk. 12 35-37. The reader will find in my comments on the passage in the volume entitled *Beginnings of Gospel Story* (pp. 160 f., 175) the reasons for regarding this fourth Colloquy in the Temple as an addition by the evangelist to the series which precedes introducing successively the moot questions of Pharisee, Sadducee, and Scribe. The appended colloquy introduces the distinctive tenet of the Christian, the Lordship of the Christ. Jesus debates with the unbelieving Jews the doctrine of his own ascension to "the right hand of God." And the passage by which he is represented as defending it is the same which at the time of Mark's writing had long been a *locus classicus* of Pauline tradition (and probably of Petrine as well) to prove the connection of the risen Jesus with the phenomena of "spiritual gifts."

Were it possible to invert the literary relation of Mark and the

¹⁰ In the Gospel of Matthew, which was not followed by a record of the mighty works of the Spirit, the Lordship is expressed by a declaration of Jesus (Mt. 28 18; cf. Mk. 16 17).

¹¹ On the later and legendary character of Acts 1 6-14 as compared with Acts 2 15 ff., and still more with Acts 3 1-4 31, see Harnack, *Acts*, ad loc.

Pauline epistles, or even to look upon the appended colloquy of Mk. 12 35-37 as of equal antiquity with the series preceding in verses 13-34, there would be better ground for the traditional idea that Jesus himself was the originator of the apologetic based on Ps. 110 1. In reality the proof-text proves too much. Its true application is to the enthronement, the ascension, the seating "at the right hand of God." It is Paul and "Peter," then, who use it correctly, and Mark, together with his dependent fellow-evangelists, who introduces it *mal à propos*.

Our attempt to trace the history of the doctrine of Jesus as Lord indicates then that its origin was in no sense of the word literary. The conviction of the Lordship¹² was the most vital and fundamental one for every Christian, no matter what the special type of his belief. He could be known as a Christian because he confessed "Jesus as Lord." But the conviction did not rest upon wrong interpretation of the Greek Old Testament. That was a consequence rather than a cause. It did not rest primarily upon Old Testament passages at all; though it was affected by these. It did not even rest upon remembered expressions of, or titles applied to, Jesus; though the fact that he had been commonly called *mar* or κύριε (cf. Jn. 13 13) had doubtless its effect, as well as the fact that he had spoken of "the Coming," or "the Day," of the Son of Man. The belief rested upon a great experience, the occurrence of a single, definite day, an occurrence which all Christians from that time forward regarded as "a designation with power of Jesus as the Son of God,"¹³ a day ever memorable as the coronation-day of the risen Jesus. Can we point to such a day?

In a sense we have already pointed to it. Even if Acts did not make of Pentecost the occasion which it does, we should know from the allusions of Paul to an outpouring of the Spirit experienced by every believer in some degree, and by the church as a whole from the beginning, that some great manifestation of the kind had marked its origin. We should naturally think

¹² Whether the Lordship (κυριότης) despised by the heretics in Jude 8, 2 Pet. 2 10, is that of Christ is doubtful.

¹³ Such, according to Sanday and Headlam, should be the rendering of Rom. 1 4.

of that day on which, as Paul relates, an assembled company of "more than five hundred brethren at once" had seen the Lord. But this is by no means all. Few things can furnish historical evidence so strong as an institution, observance, or rite, directly traceable to a given event. Such an observance, or institution, can in our judgment be surely traced to the day of Pentecost, and to this event. The institution exists today. Its existence is attested in the oldest documents of the New Testament; though it so happens that its distinctive name is not mentioned until the Revelation of John, written about 95 A.D. In Rev. 1 10 the day which in the Pauline epistles (1 Cor. 16 2), the travel-document of Acts (Acts 20 7), and the gospels is referred to simply as "the first day of the week" and appears merely as a weekly day of assembly, is called "the Lord's day" (ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα). In our judgment a strictly critical analysis of the evidence will show that "the Lord's day" originally commemorated the day of Jesus' enthronement "at the right hand of God." It was the day when "God made him both Lord and Christ."

By the time our gospels were written the day had come to be regarded as commemorating Jesus' resurrection. In fact, Paul himself makes the "resurrection" (return from Sheol?) to have occurred "on the third day," which (the crucifixion having occurred on a Friday) would make it to have fallen on "the first day of the week." This, accordingly, is the date on which our gospels place the visit of the women to the sepulchre and the finding of it empty; and in common acceptance the weekly observance of "the Lord's day" is supposed to commemorate this event. Why it should be a weekly observance, when the celebration of the resurrection was annual, and why it should fall on the day when (according to later forms of tradition) the resurrection *manifestations* began, instead of the day of Christ's actual victory over "him that had the power of death," the common theory does not attempt to explain.

Is it, then, the fact that observance of "the Lord's day" began with a fixation of this "first day of the week" as that on which Jesus "rose from the dead," whether with Paul as an inference from "the Scriptures," or with the evangelists from the report of the women and other phenomena connected with the empty sepul-

chre? We venture to say that the objections to accepting this as the origin of the observance are absolutely insuperable. Such observance could only begin in commemoration of some great and joyous, but above all perfectly definite and undisputed, event. The experiences of the women and the inferences of Paul from Scripture were not occurrences of this kind. Even were it possible to know what "scripture" Paul has in mind when he reports it as the common faith that Jesus "rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures," we cannot imagine the primitive community sitting down in conference and saying: "Go to, now. We need a day on which to commemorate the triumph of Jesus over the gates of death; let it be, then, the first day of the week; for according to Hosea it must have been 'on the third day' (Hos. 6 (2). The crucifixion occurred on the sixth day of the week. Let us then substitute the 'first day of the week' for the Sabbath, and institute thus a weekly memorial of the resurrection." Equally unimaginable is the origin of such an observance from the report of "certain women which were early at the grave, and, when they found him not, reported that they had seen a vision of angels which said that he was alive." Granted even the trustworthiness of these late traditions ignored by Paul, why celebrate this day rather than the day when he "was seen of Cephas"? In point of fact the whole group of traditions which centres about the sepulchre, found empty by the women and others "on the third day," is absolutely excluded as accounting for the observance of "the Lord's day," because they manifestly come to light at a time long after the observance of the Lord's day had become well established. Had the early church wished to celebrate the beginning of the *manifestations* of the Lord, they would certainly have taken the day of the manifestation to Peter. But that, according to all we can learn about it, took place at the Sea of Galilee, the mere physical conditions making it practically certain that it was not so early as "the third day." Our only direct witness (Gospel of Peter 14 58-60) states, in fact, that Peter's return to Galilee did not take place until "the last day of Unleavened Bread," a full week after the crucifixion. In point of fact the early church did not attempt to date the resurrection by the discovery of the empty tomb, nor by the connected group of

appearances in Jerusalem, all of which concern themselves with the later disputes about the nature of the resurrection body. Two characteristics of Paul's recapitulation of the resurrection story, as proclaimed not by himself alone but by all authorities, are fatal to the supposition that the sepulchre-group of traditions had anything to do with the origin of the observance of the Lord's day: (1) the entire absence from his list of proofs of any one of these traditions; (2) the fact that the resurrection (that is, the return from Sheol "clothed upon" with the heavenly "body of glory") is dated "on the third day" because of certain "scriptures" and for no other reason assigned. It is hardly probable that the passages in Paul's mind included Hos. 6 2, natural as this might seem; for the New Testament writers never make use of this particular passage. It does not seem probable that Paul rested on Jonah 1 17 like the author of Mt. 12 40. But difficult though it is to say what particular passages of Scripture Paul had in mind, it is not impossible to say what he meant by "the third day," and that it had reference not to the succession of the days of the week at all, but to those of the month, or rather of the feast of Passover and Unleavened Bread.

First Corinthians is written from Ephesus, apparently in the midst of the celebration of a (Christian) Passover. In 5 7 the Corinthians are exhorted to "put away the old leaven, . . . for Christ our Passover hath been sacrificed for us." In like manner the chapter on the resurrection borrows the imagery of the temple service. Christ's death, burial, and resurrection are compared to the wheat buried in the ground but restored again at harvest. The first day of Passover—Mazzoth (Nisan 14) was the day when the lamb was slaughtered. "The third day" in the year of the crucifixion was the day of Firstfruits (*ἀπαρχή*, Nisan 16), when the first sheaf of the wheat-harvest was lifted up to God. When, in the midst of this comparison, Paul writes: "But now is Christ risen from the dead and become the firstfruits (*ἀπαρχή*) of them that slept," and in the same connection points to his burial, and to his having been raised "on the third day," the significance of the date can be no other than the fact of its coincidence with the ritual of Firstfruits, just as the crucifixion had coincided with the slaughtering of the passover lamb. The fact

that in the particular year in question this happened to be also a "first day of the week" was at the utmost a secondary consideration.¹⁴

We are led by this glimpse into Paul's commemoration of the death and resurrection to a realization of what event the early church actually did attempt to celebrate, and when they really dated it.

The crisis in the life of Peter referred to in the prayer of Jesus, "Simon, . . . when thou art turned again strengthen thy brethren," was worthy to be commemorated by the church, because it unquestionably was the crisis of its own birth. Had the church thought of celebrating the beginning of the resurrection *faith*, it must have noted and observed the day when in Galilee, some ten days or more after the crucifixion, so far as we can judge, the risen Lord "appeared to Cephas." It did not do so. Either because this humble beginning was overshadowed by the later, more spectacular triumph, or for some other reason, Pentecost was looked upon as the real birthday of the church, and Peter's experience was but vaguely connected with it. What the church was intent upon commemorating, even so early as the time of Paul's stay in Ephesus, was Jesus' victory over the gates of Sheol. This triumph of the Prince of Life (ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ζωῆς) over the prince of darkness and death was commemorated, however, in an *annual* festival, coincident with the Passover of the Jews, and in fact with the equinoctial feasts of the many cults which make the vernal new birth of nature a symbol of their resurrection hope. In Paul's time Jewish ritual was still adhered to with sufficient closeness to warrant the marking of a separate correspondence of the crucifixion with the slaughter of the lamb on Nisan 14, and the resurrection with the lifting up of the wave sheaf on Nisan 16. But a century later this refinement has disappeared. The quartodecimans are still celebrating the Christian Passover in Asia where Paul had celebrated it with them, but it is

¹⁴ Clement of Alexandria shows precisely this point of view in arguing for the observance of the fourteenth of Nisan as the anniversary of the death and resurrection. "And the resurrection confirms this [argument for quartodeciman observance]. At all events [Jesus] rose on the third day, which is the first day of the weeks of wheat-harvest, on which it was prescribed that the priest should offer the sheaf [of firstfruits]. (Citation in Paschal Chronicle.)

only the single great Passover day which is remembered.¹⁵ Death and resurrection are celebrated together on the fourteenth Nisan, "the day when the people [that is, the Jews] put away the leaven." Great controversy arises because at Rome and in the West, where the hebdomadal system has become supreme, men wish to insist that "the mystery of the resurrection" shall not be celebrated on any other but "the Lord's day." Asia and the East remain firm in the authority of apostolic precedent, and again and again reiterate the nature and meaning of their observance. "The fourteenth is the true Passover of the Lord, the one great sacrifice, the Servant of God slain instead of the [passover] lamb, he who was bound having bound the strong man [that is, Satan, who had the power of death; cf. Mt. 12 29 and Heb. 2 14 f.], and he who was judged judging quick and dead, . . . who was buried on the day of the Passover, a stone being set upon the tomb." ¹⁶

But while we can be perfectly certain that it was the victory of Christ over the power of Sheol which was celebrated by quaterdecimans in the annual breaking of fast on the fourteenth of Nisan, and while the greatest importance was attached to the exact determination of the true date of this single day, it is equally certain that the ancient Oriental observance did not attempt to determine from the traditions of manifestations, discoveries of the empty condition of the tomb, Scriptural predictions, or otherwise, just how long after the crucifixion this triumph known as the resurrection, or return from Sheol, had occurred. Indeed, a letter of Basilides, bishop of the parishes in Pentapolis, consults Dionysius of Alexandria as to the hour when the fast commemorative of the Lord's passion should be terminated by the feast of the resurrection, some of the brethren thinking they should do it at cock-crow, others "from the evening." "He was at a loss," says Drummond, "how to fix an exact hour; for while it would be 'acknowledged by all alike' that they ought to begin their festivities after the time of the resurrection of our Lord, and to humble their souls by fasting up to that time, the Gospels

¹⁵ Epiphanius, Haer. ἀπαξ γὰρ τοῦ ἔτους μίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ πάσχα οἱ τοιοῦτοι (quaterdecimans) φιλονεικῶς ἄγουσι.

¹⁶ Apollinaris of Hierapolis in Paschal Chronicle.

*contained no exact statement of the hour at which he rose."*¹⁷ Dionysius in his reply does not pretend that he can solve this question of the exact time of the resurrection, but recommends a latitudinarian tolerance of difference in mode of observance.

It is perfectly clear from this and other accounts of ancient commemoration of Jesus' death and resurrection that the two were celebrated together, and that no attempt was made to draw such inferences as moderns draw from the story of the women at the sepulchre regarding the day and hour when Jesus had been (in Pauline language) "clothed upon" with his "body of glory." If for a time memory lingered of the Pauline correspondence between Firstfruits on Nisan 16 and a scripture (Hos. 6 2?) predicting resurrection on "the third day," it soon disappeared. Clement's reference stands isolated. The second-century church, at least in the Orient, thought of, and celebrated, Jesus' death and resurrection as practically simultaneous. Indeed, the Gospel of Peter makes even the ascension take place from the cross itself immediately after the great cry.¹⁸

Dr. Erwin Preuschen even goes so far as to say:

In the Orient Sunday was not known as the day of resurrection, and hence there was no weekly celebration of this day [but cf. Acts 20 7 and Rev. 1 10], but in the Occident Wednesday and Friday were regular fast-days, and Sunday was celebrated as the day of resurrection. It is doubtful whether the Occident possessed in addition a special day in the year for the commemoration of the death and of the resurrection of the Lord.¹⁹

We cannot agree with this scholar that the hebdomadal system of the church originated in the West and was unknown to the East. It is essentially Jewish in character, and would have been most pronounced among the earliest churches, where synagogue practice was taken over with least alteration. The very document on which Dr. Preuschen seems to base his statement regarding semi-weekly fasts²⁰ is almost certainly of Syrian origin, and

¹⁷ Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel, p. 471. The italics are ours.

¹⁸ "And the Lord cried out, saying, My Power, my Power, thou hast forsaken me. And as soon as he had spoken he was taken up" (*καὶ εἰπὼν ἀνελήφθη*).

¹⁹ New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia, Art. "Easter," vol. iv (1909), pp. 46 f.

²⁰ Didache, 8 1.

the fasts on the fourth day of the week and the Preparation (*παρασκευή*) are expressly set over against those of "the hypocrites" on "the second and fifth" (cf. Luke 18 12). The hebdomadal system of the church is certainly of synagogue origin, all the more because such pains are taken to distinguish its festal "first day" from the festal "seventh day" of "the hypocrites," and its fourth-day and sixth-day fasts from their fasts on the second and fifth days of the week. But Preuschen is entirely correct in saying that observance of "the Lord's day" had no such origin as we of the West, following the Roman tradition of Mark and the Synoptic Gospels,²¹ have been accustomed to suppose. His appeal to the immemorial rite of quartodeciman observance on the part of all the more ancient churches, explicitly and rightly justified as it was by apostolic tradition and practice, is conclusive on this point. Preuschen's inference from the history of the long controversy is as follows:

The Christians of Asia Minor must have celebrated the mystery of the resurrection on the day on which the fast [the annual fast commemorating the Passion] was broken, and this day was not Sunday but the fourteenth of Nisan, around which the controversy revolved. This conclusion is justified by the account of Epiphanius concerning the quartodecimans (that is, those who commemorated the Lord's death on the 14th), in which he relates that fasting and the celebration of the resurrection took place on the same day. . . . The Christians of Asia Minor appealed to an old apostolic tradition according to which Jesus rose on the evening of the day of his death, and the opposition of the Occidentals was directed mainly against the commemoration of death and resurrection on the same day.

In one respect this statement requires correction. It was not the "resurrection" of Jesus in our sense of the word that quartodecimans commemorated "on the same day" as the crucifixion (better, after a vigil corresponding to the vigil of Passover, which extended in many cases "until cock-crowing"), nor did they hold that he "rose" (that is, manifested his presence to his disciples on earth) on the fourteenth. They accepted the same gospels that we do, and were indignant at the charge of going counter to them. They probably held just as Paul did, and perhaps on the

²¹ Even the quartodeciman Fourth Gospel is affected on this point by its predecessors (cf. Jn. 20).

basis of the same "scriptures," that "he was raised (ἡγέρθη) on the third day," that is, on the sixteenth, or day of Firstfruits.²² What the quartodeciman festival commemorated was, as Apollinaris clearly (though somewhat rhetorically) states, the "binding of the strong man," that is, the church's victory over "the gates of Sheol," accomplished when Christ "through death overcame him that had the power of death, and delivered us who through fear of death were all our life-time subject to bondage." It is the true Oriental, pre-christian doctrine of the "Harrowing of Hell" which underlies it, and is reflected in unmistakable terms in the fifth of Hippolytus's *Heads against Caius*:

The heretic Caius [ca. 180 A.D.] objects [to Rev. 20 2 f.] that "Satan had already been bound, according to what is written [in Mt. 12 29] that Christ entered the house of the strong man, and bound him, and despoiled him of us his vessels."

It thus becomes unmistakably clear that the celebration of the Passover among the Oriental churches, as taken over from the synagogue through the very hands of the apostles themselves, became in Christian interpretation a feast of redemption indeed as before, but—of redemption from the darkness and bondage of Sheol. The imagery is perfectly familiar to us from the epistles of Paul, and must have been at least equally familiar to every communicant in "the Supper of the Lord." The mere date when it became known that the tomb was empty, or when individuals were lifted out of their despairing unbelief, whether by "visions of angels" or "manifestations of the Lord," was to the Oriental Christian's mind a matter of quite secondary importance. He resented the attempt of Rome and the West to force upon him a delay in the breaking of his fast until "the Lord's day"; and denied the validity of their ground, namely, that the Jerusalem traditions regarding the sepulchre, which since the days of Mark's Roman gospel had begun to supersede the Galilean as given by Paul (1 Cor. 15 1-11), proved "that the mystery of the Lord's resurrection from the dead" had taken place at a specified day and hour and therefore "should be celebrated on no other day than the Lord's day."

²² Cf. the statement of Clement cited above, p. 219, note.

Our protracted inquiry into the primitive apostolic celebration of the resurrection will be justified by the importance of the result. We need not prolong it by a consideration, however interesting historically, or strong in corroboration, of the later attempts at harmonization. We can only refer the reader to Preuschen's explanation of the curious calculation of the "three days" in the Syriac *Didascalia*, which treats the three hours' darkness on the crucifixion day as a "night." We must also pass over his analogous explanation of the equally curious phraseology of Mt. 28 1. In our judgment the inquiry already fully justifies the statement with which we began, that at least so far as the ancient Oriental churches or those of apostolic or Pauline foundation are concerned, "the whole group of traditions which centres about the sepulchre, found empty by the women and others 'on the third day,' is absolutely excluded as accounting for the observance of 'the Lord's day.'" Their dating on that particular day is a *consequence*, not a cause of the practice.

But this leaves the practice itself still to be accounted for. Moreover, as we have just seen, the hebdomadal system, so far from being a mere Western innovation, as Preuschen appears to hold, is rooted in the most ancient apostolic observance. The innovation of the West consists merely in a perversion of its significance.

The three characteristics which should guide us to a more trustworthy judgment of the origin of "the Lord's day" are (1) its Jewish derivation, (2) its hebdomadal observance, (3) its festival character. It unquestionably began as a commemoration of some signal event in the history of the church. But we have seen that the resurrection was otherwise commemorated, and the mere accounts of "manifestations," even that to Peter, which in the earliest times was by far the most important, were not understood as determining the date of the Lord's triumph over Sheol. One "manifestation," however, did remain fixed in the memory of the church, not only because of the significance which from the beginning appears to have been attached to it, but because, as tradition most credibly avers, it coincided in date with the annual Jewish "Feast of Weeks." If any one day could be pointed to in the whole history of the church worthy of perpetual

commemoration as "the Lord's day," it would be the day when according to apostolic belief he was enthroned "at the right hand of God." The phenomena which accompanied the first "outpouring of the Spirit" are appealed to in different ways by both "Peter" and Paul as proving the exaltation of Jesus to the supreme Lordship (Acts 2 33, Eph. 4 7-10). Both apostles see in it a fulfilment of the coronation ode, Ps. 110: "Yahweh said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." So vital was this conviction to the primitive church that it became incorporated in the earliest baptismal confession: "He ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God."

But is it capable of proof that this supreme day of the "demonstration of the Spirit and of power" was really a "first day of the week"; and, if so, was there any reason why it should be commemorated by weekly, instead of annual, observance? Both questions can be answered in the affirmative. Lev. 23 1-21 gives the "perpetual statute" of the feasts of wheat-harvest, introduced by the law of the Passover on Nisan 14 (ver. 5). Verses 9-14 give the "perpetual statute" of Firstfruits "on the morrow after the Sabbath" (Nisan 16). Next follows the "perpetual statute" of Pentecost, which celebrated the conclusion of the seven weeks of wheat-harvest:

And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath [of Passover week], from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering [Firstfruits]; seven sabbaths shall there be complete: even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days . . . and ye shall make proclamation on the selfsame day; there shall be an holy convocation unto you; ye shall do no servile work; it is a statute for ever in all your dwellings throughout your generations.

This law of Pentecost, or "the Feast of Weeks," is the foundation of the Jewish hebdomadal system. The new moon of Nisan fixed the annual calendar, whose first great feast was Passover at the full of the moon. Nisan 16 with its ritual of the sheaf of firstfruits was the starting-point for the seven-weeks' period of wheat-harvest, culminating in Pentecost, which would thus by

one interpretation always fall on "the first day of the week."²³ Moreover, it constituted a kind of second Sabbath, which, as we know, was the mode of observance of "the Lord's day" in the primitive Christian communities. Of these communities nothing is more certain than their assiduous devotion to the festal system of the Law. Passover and Pentecost, so far from being discontinued, were redoubled in significance. The redemption-feast, as we have seen, became the feast of the new and greater redemption through the death of Christ, a commemoration of his breaking of the bars of Sheol. Pentecost also continued in redoubled honor, observed even in the Pauline churches (1 Cor. 16 8, Acts 20 6, 16). And not only so, but the intervening period of the seven weeks of wheat-harvest long continued, as among the Jews, to be a period of continuous festivity, "the joy of harvest." Says Drummond, summarizing the statements of Eusebius:

So full of joy was the time [of Easter] that they feasted for seven whole weeks, till "another great feast," Pentecost, came in.²⁴

No doubt whatever exists as to the new meaning attached by Jewish believers of the earliest time to the festival of Pentecost as an annual observance. It was the day on which he who had "become the first fruits of them that slept" entered into the full possession of the inheritance; and of this fact had given the assurance by a showering of the Earnest (*ἀρραβών*) upon his followers. But what of the old-time significance of the day to pious Jews as the foundation of the hebdomadal system? Is it likely that for Christians there would be in succeeding years no special significance in the period of rejoicing, which was marked for them above their fellow Jews by the fact that it had been filled with successive manifestations of the risen Lord? According to the tradition these manifestations had followed in rapid succession from the time when, some ten days after the crucifixion, the Lord "appeared to Cephas" down to Pentecost itself. It was

²³ Orthodox rabbinic interpretation of the legal date "the morrow after the sabbath" seems to have given it the sense as early as New Testament times of Nisan 16, regardless of the day of the week. Samaritan and sectarian practice made Firstfruits (and consequently Pentecost) fall invariably on Sunday.

²⁴ Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel, p. 466.

the period during which "he presented himself alive after his passion by many proofs, appearing unto them by the space of forty days." And if early Christian observance of this festal period followed the same analogy as the other observances which they took over from the religion of their fathers, their kindred, and their own childhood, it would be almost inevitable that these "manifestations" should follow the hebdomadal order and begin to be dated uniformly on "the Lord's day."

If, then, we look to Paul, and not to the relatively late tradition of the Roman editor of our second canonical gospel, for an explanation of primitive observance of "the Lord's day," we shall find it in the wide-spread and primitive Oriental observance of a festival of corn-harvest, which among Jews at least covered a period of seven weeks, beginning and ending—in the year of the crucifixion—on "the first day of the week."

That inferences regarding the first Lord's day were based on Scripture rather than on tradition is clear from 1 Cor. 15 4. When at last tradition forsook the older Galilean narrative, and began to build on the Jerusalem form first known to us in the Roman Gospel of Mark, it was inevitable that the resurrection "on the third day" should be interpreted not with reference to Passover and Firstfruits, but with reference to "the Lord's day" of an established Christian hebdomadal system.

Our study of the primitive institution of "the Lord's day," intricate as the course of argument must be, leads to a conclusion thoroughly in harmony with that based upon literary and philological grounds. Primitive christology rested not so much upon Scripture, nor even upon phrases caught from the lips of Jesus, as upon the experience of the church. First had come the reawakened faith of Peter, then of the Twelve. Peter's brethren were "strengthened" in the conviction that God had raised Jesus from the dead. But the experience which created Christianity was the "baptism of the Spirit." In it was given the assurance of his exaltation to "the right hand of God." By it he was "manifested as the Son of God with power."

For believing Jew and Greek alike this implied that God would soon send Jesus back again to judgment as "the Christ." For it is Paul's teaching as well as Peter's that "we must all stand before

the judgment-seat of Christ." And so far as doctrinal content is concerned, no more was implied when Christians of Semitic mode of speech declared that Jesus had been manifested as "the Son of Man." It does, however, make a great difference to moderns whether by the strict canons of criticism we are obliged to hold that this christology of the apocalyptists, resting as it does upon the more morbid developments of later Judaism, has its ground in fundamental elements of the teaching of Jesus himself; or whether we may hold, in accordance with the argument now brought to its conclusion, that the doctrine of Jesus as "Son of Man," and the doctrine of Jesus as "Lord," are parallel developments of a common experience. That experience we believe to have been the gift of the Spirit of adoption which teaches us to cry Abba, Father. Historically speaking, there could be no other mediation of that Spirit to humanity than through him who has taught us, once and for all, by word and action, in his life and in his death, what it is to be a "Son of God."

PART II

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF PETER

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF PETER

The foregoing series of studies on three of the principal titles applied by the primitive Church to its risen Lord has only paved the way for the great problem, a problem antecedent even to that of the Christology of Paul. Important and enlightening studies¹ have been made of late years in tracing the development of Paul's interpretation of the person and work of Christ. His Christology shows itself a true incarnation doctrine already fully equipped with the idea of preëxistence. It has unmistakable affinities with the speculative tendencies of later Judaism, including elements scarcely represented, if at all, in Synoptic literature. On the other hand the Christology of the Petrine speeches of Acts has absolutely no trace of any doctrine of preëxistence. It is an apotheosis doctrine. It can only be reconciled with the Christology of Mark (adopted by subsequent evangelists) by means of the exegetical device of the *Christus futurus*. The "prophet" who has been "made" Christ and Lord by the resurrection (Acts 2 32-36) has not been the Christ before, even on earth, to say nothing of preëxistence.

It is clear that in becoming a Christian Saul of Tarsus simply transferred to the person of the glorified Jesus the attributes which as an educated and progressive Pharisee he had learned to attach to the person of the expected Messiah. One important connecting link would seem to have been the identification of "the Spirit" exhibited in the various charismatic gifts of primitive believers, with the personality of Jesus.² The spirit of wisdom, prophecy, service, in the church could not be other than the "spirit of God" manifested in Old Testament worthies. From this the transition was easy to a further identification with the Wisdom of God, hypostatized in the Wisdom literature. Christ

¹ See especially W. Sanday, *Christologies Ancient and Modern*, 1910; J. Weiss, *Christ: The Beginnings of the Dogma*, 1911; J. C. Granbery, *Outline of N. T. Christology*, 1909; and W. Bauer's edition (1911) of Holtzmann's *Neutestamentliche Theologie*.

² 2 Cor. 3 17f.

became thus the First-born of the creation, through whom are all things, and in whom all things consist.³ As "the Spirit" he was the guiding, enlightening, and redemptive agency manifested in the training of the people of God, the "spiritual following rock from which they drank."⁴

But Paul also identifies this preëxistent Christ with the "second Adam" or "heavenly man," made in the image of God and destined to have dominion over the entire creation (Gen. 1 26-28). This, on the basis of the rabbinic category of preëxistence, would be implied in the conception of the Christ as "the Heir," the "Son of God's love," the "Lord" to whom angels and principalities and powers have been, or are to be, made subject. All things are thus "unto," as well as "through" him. These doctrines no qualified scholar will maintain to have been derived by Paul by direct acceptance from the teachings of Jesus. The only question that can be raised is whether to any extent they are directly due to current Hellenistic ideas, reflecting popular forms of the Stoic doctrine of the creative Logos; or whether they can be completely accounted for in Pauline (and to some extent even in pre-Pauline) Christology by the indirect influence of Platonic and later Greek ideas, so notoriously prevalent among the Pharisees. For Gamaliel himself, we are told, was the most distinguished champion of these Greek studies. By birth, by temperament, and by training, Saul of Tarsus, most progressive of the Pharisees (the progressive party in the direction of transcendental messianism), was the man of all men to entertain in most extreme form that type of pre-Christian Christology wherein his writings actually show their most marked distinction from the non-Pauline elements of the New Testament. The most recent results of New Testament science, exploring the mazes of Hellenistic theosophical mythology, have shown the abundant precedent that exists in later Jewish and Hellenistic speculation for the pre-Christian element of Paul's Christology. The studies of R. H. Charles, Bousset, Volz, and others have made it clear, for example, how this doctrine of Israel (and by logical inference Israel's representative the Messiah) as the heir of the

³ Col. 1 15-17, cf. Sap. 7 24-27.

⁴ 1 Cor. 10 4; cf. 1 Pt. 1 11.

creation, destined to dominion over the entire universe of created beings, angels themselves included, is rooted in the promise to that Adam "which was the son of God" (Gen. 1 26-28; cf. Lk. 3 38).

But there were other connecting links between Pauline and pre-Pauline Christology besides an identification of "the Spirit" with the personality of Jesus, and besides the concepts of current transcendental messianism. Though neither the Pauline Epistles nor the Petrine speeches display acquaintance with the title Son of man, there can be no question that it was already current. Paul's application of Ps. 8 to the glorified Christ⁵ suggests the fact, and it may even be that the titles "second Adam" and "heavenly man" (*ἄνθρωπος ἐπουράνιος*) are related to the Danielic. We have questioned whether Jesus himself ever employed the title Son of man otherwise than in general, objective, and impersonal references to the coming agent of divine judgment, especially in stereotyped phrases, such as "the day of the Son of man"; but the beginnings of its application to him personally are coëval with faith in his return as judge of the world—a constant of primitive evangelism.⁶ If Paul did not actually hear the application of the title to Jesus from the lips of Stephen, he must have heard it from others even before his conversion, and the very use of this title implies at least a potential doctrine of preëxistence, while passages such as Mk. 2 10, 28 and Mt. 11 19=Lk. 7 34 (Q) make such a doctrine logically unavoidable. In the historical perspective of developing Christology the application of the title Son of man to Jesus individually and personally cannot, therefore, be made antecedent to the Christology of the Petrine speeches of Acts; for here preëxistence is excluded. Jesus is "made" Lord and Christ by the resurrection, and hence has not been such before. Moreover this type of adoptionism is immovably established as the primitive Christology by the support of Paul in his most general affirmation of the common faith (Rom. 1 4). The true place of the title Son of man, therefore, in the order of historical development is *between* the Christology of the Petrine source of Acts, and the Chris-

⁵ 1 Cor. 15 27.

⁶ Cf. Acts 2 40, 3 21, 10 42, 17 31 with Gal. 1 4, 1 Thess. 1 10, etc.

tology of Paul. It forms a connecting link, and no more, though a link of vital importance.

Trustworthy explanation of the origins of New Testament Christology depends, then, upon an adequate tracing of the interrelation between the Hellenized Pharisean messianism which Paul would inherit from his rabbinic training, and the imperfectly developed Christology which came to him by contact with earlier believers. Our New Testament documents are all later than this fusion, though the elements are still distinguishable. The Pauline Christology, already composite, the Petro-Pauline, and the Johannine, are the three great factors out of which, through successive prevalence now of a Jewish-Christian Adoptionism, now of a Hellenistic Docetism or Monarchianism, the Church at last developed its Nicene Confession.

Our present concern is not with the doubly and triply complex Christology of the post-Pauline literature, nor even with that element of the Pauline which Paul brought from pre-Christian or non-Christian sources, but solely with that which came to him from earlier believers. And this is the vital problem. Start with Paul's application to the person and work of Jesus of the categories of the Hellenistic religions of redemption, so prevalent in the world from which he came, and there will be little difficulty in accounting for the subsequent development. But this is not starting far enough back. The real question is, How came Paul to apply these extraordinary attributes to the Nazarene Prophet whom the publicans and sinners since his crucifixion had begun to hail as Messiah and Lord?

A mind so logical and critical as Paul's, so insistent on testing even the material content of prophetic vision in the sober court of reason and conscience, could not have found complete and lasting satisfaction in the ascription of these transcendent attributes to Jesus of Nazareth without cogent reason. We must give due weight to the unquestionable fact that Saul in the course of his persecutions had encountered an exalted type of Christology in the person of many a victim prepared like Stephen to give the witness of martyrdom to the sincerity and earnestness of his faith, and to the equally patent fact that, however great the differences between Paul and those who were apostles before him,

there is no evidence that in respect to Christology they were not substantially agreed. Indeed while Paul nowhere mentions Stephen or any other specific victim of his persecuting days, he does intimate in clear and unambiguous language that the experience which had made of him a new man in Christ Jesus was not unprecedented. There is even a resemblance strong enough to suggest real psychological dependence between his own vision of the glorified Jesus standing forth in defence of his persecuted followers, and the apostrophe of Stephen (reported in Acts 7 54-60 as taking place in the presence of Paul) to the Son of man, the "righteous judge"⁷ "standing at the right hand of God."

At all events Paul freely admits that the experience by which he was regenerated and commissioned with his apostleship and his gospel was not primary. God, who had "energized in him unto an apostleship of the Gentiles" had previously energized unto a more limited apostleship in others.⁸ His experience had been simply the last of a series, not different in kind from its predecessors.⁹ The common gospel which all preached was the manifestation by God of the risen Jesus as "His Son."¹⁰ The first to undergo this experience had been Peter. God had "energized in Peter unto an apostleship of the circumcision."

The recognition of this fact evokes a new psychological problem antecedent to that of Paul. Our new question must be how those who were "apostles" and believers "before him," beginning with Peter, came to have the experience expressed in *their* Christology; a Christology which, as we have seen, remains even down to the period of the Synoptic writers still clearly distinguishable from the Pauline, in the characteristic absence of the Hellenistic factor. For Synoptic Christology, though more developed than that of the Petrine speeches of Acts, is still fundamentally, as we have seen, an apotheosis, as against an incarnation, doctrine. The cosmological and speculative aspects are still wanting. Pre-existence, if implied at all, appears only in the self-application, imputed to Jesus, of the title Son of man. Even the narratives of virgin-birth rather exclude than favor it.

Our quest, then, is no longer the Pauline, but the pre-Pauline

⁷ 2 Tim. 4 8.

⁸ Gal. 2 8; cf. 2 Cor. 4 6 ("our hearts").

⁹ 1 Cor. 15 5-8.

¹⁰ Rom. 1 1-4.

Christology. But contemporary documents are wanting. The earliest and most fundamental of the Gospels already employs the Petrine story in the interests of Pauline doctrine. Direct record of Petrine or Matthaean tradition we have none. Paul himself is our chief witness; for Paul himself makes occasional direct reference to Petrine Christology, and on the other hand, as we have seen, elements of Pauline Christology such as the preëxistence doctrine can be identified as distinctively his own.

This, then, is the Christological problem of our time. It is comparatively easy to understand how a Hellenist by birth, outstripping even the most advanced Pharisean doctrine of his time in the process of transcendentalizing the messianic hope into a cosmic process of redemption, agonizing to the distraction of his soul in the Stoic antithesis of flesh and spirit, brought to the extremity of despair by the sudden discovery of the hopelessness of redemption and life by the Pharisean road of legalism, should have undergone violent reaction to the standpoint of his victims, *if* these victims thought of the "Lord" or "Christ" in whom they trusted as fulfilling the functions of a personal Redeemer. But what reason have we to suppose that they did? How could the pre-Pauline Christology have come to be sufficiently Pauline to account for Paul's sudden discovery that it contained the solution of his soul's deep need?

The data available for determination of the nature of pre-Pauline Christology fall at once, according to the relative directness of the evidence supplied, into two classes: (1) References and implications of Paul; (2) statements and implications of the non-Pauline tradition.

1. The recent attempts of an extreme school of idealistic monists to excise from the admittedly genuine Pauline writings all explicit references to the historic Jesus, such as the account in 1 Cor. 11 23 ff. of the institution of the "Lord's Supper" on "the night in which the Lord Jesus was betrayed," and even the references to the common apostolic gospel of the crucifixion and resurrection in 1 Cor. 15 1-11, founded on the "appearance to Cephas," are not only arbitrary and violent, but logically self-destructive. The marvel to be accounted for is the connecting

by such a thinker, writer, and theologian as Paul, of his ex hypothesi transcendental Hellenistic conceptions, his pre-Christian messianism, his idea, whencesoever derived, of a Redeemer-god passing through the avatar of incarnation, conflict with the powers of darkness, glorification, with the personality of the crucified Nazarene. It does not elucidate this problem, it only aggravates it, to remove the connecting figures of Peter and the pre-Pauline believers. All the critical and exegetical violence resorted to in championing the absolute originality of Paul, the disposition to ignore the Galilean strain in the parentage of his Christology, are from the historian's point of view completely misapplied and illogical. A desire to really comprehend the dogma in its origin and development should lead to just the reverse procedure. We should search the Pauline writings for every scrap of reference or allusion to this factor of earlier tradition emanating from the Galilean following of Jesus; for this alone can historically account for the extraordinary pied-à-terre of the Pauline metaphysic. To account for the attachment of Paul's pre-Christian, abstract, messianism to the person of the crucified Galilean Prophet, a historical transition point is indispensable; precisely such a point as we find in the experience of Peter, at first a companion and disciple of the Nazarene, admittedly in face of the approaching tragedy more or less out of sympathy with his Master in respect to messianic expectations; yet afterwards undergoing a great "conversion," from which he emerges the leader and representative of a new type of Christological doctrine. The significant thing is that in this new Christology of Peter Paul recognizes no essential difference from his own. Here, then, is the psychological transition point. If there were no Peter to account for Pauline Christology, we should have had to invent one.

Paul's own writings are not devoid of implications concerning this antecedent Christology of Peter. The very fact of his persecution of "the church of God" (Gal. 1 13) is unaccountable if to Saul, the legalist,¹¹ its doctrine was not in fundamental conflict with the legalistic doctrine of salvation. While its Christology may have been offensive, this is not presented either by Luke or Paul as the chief occasion for persecution. Doubtless the phrase

¹¹ Phil. 3 6, 9.

"I strove to make them blaspheme" (Acts 26 11), and the infliction of the death penalty, may be best accounted for by a Christology regarded as punishable under the law of Dt. 13. But this is not made prominent. The Lukan narrative is singularly free from the idea represented in Mk. 14 60-64 (an editorial addition) that Jesus' disciples were charged with blasphemy on this account. When Pharisean persecution breaks out, soon if not from the start under the leadership of Paul, its occasion is "the controversy that arose about Stephen," and the original charges against Stephen refer to Jewish prerogative. His doctrine opposes "the temple" and "the law." The blasphemy (?) of his appeal to "the Son of man" is incidental. So for Paul also the supreme issue between the old faith and the new is not Christological but "the law" as a basis of justification.¹² In Peter's case as fully as in his own there had been, to his mind, no escape from the alternative: law, or Christ. Fidelity to either was impossible without infidelity to the other. This is the whole point of the retrospective argument of Gal. 2 15-21. It is true that Peter at Antioch was still unready to admit this alternative. But according to Paul it was something he should have perceived to be true from the very outset, and in view of the basic position it occupies in Paul's thought we shall do well to think of it as governing his action as a persecutor as well as that later action as a Christian which reversed its application. Paul persecuted, so far as we can judge from his own expressions, because the doctrine of *grace* which he encountered in his victims "frustrated the righteousness which is of the law," the death of Christ making the law "of none effect."¹³ On both sides, then, the matter in question belongs to a religion of personal redemption. "The faith of Christ" has become with individuals, more or less consciously, a substitute for Mosaism as a ground of acceptance with God. If this be indeed a fact, it is a phenomenon of fundamental historical significance. How is it to be accounted for?

One conspicuous testimony remains, surely pre-Pauline, and yet no less surely of origin subsequent to the crucifixion, which emphatically confirms our inference as to the motive of Paul's persecution, and throws light upon the strange expressions of the

¹² Gal. 2 15-21.

¹³ Cf. Gal. 2 21 with 1 Cor. 15 3.

creed he imputes to Peter. The distinctive rite by which members of the new sect set themselves apart as a brotherhood awaiting the advent of the Messiah and the institution of the divine kingdom was an adaptation of John's "baptism unto remission of sins." We must indeed acquit the primitive circle of believers of any conscious intention to separate themselves from the general body of pious sons of Abraham. They were Israelites without guile, and fully intended to remain such. To their mind the formation of a brotherhood of believers in Jesus as the Messiah, sealed to him by this initiatory rite, only emphasized the more their fidelity to "the hope of Israel" witnessed in the law and the prophets. It was a segregation after the same type as the Pharisee's, whose name of "Separatist" signified his withdrawal into a *chaber*, (i.e. a "neighborhood") of punctilious observers of every Mosaic ordinance and every interpretative tradition of the scribes. Pharisaism denoted a Puritanic "withdrawal" from the laxer, half-heathen, practice of "the people of the land." If Essenes could withdraw in ascetic celibacy, employing lustrations of their own, and Pharisees could form brotherhoods of stricter legalists, holding aloof from the mixed multitude, why should not the believers in the risen Jesus as the coming Messiah set themselves apart by a "baptism of repentance unto remission of sins"?

To the Pharisee, however, the cases could not seem parallel. His "separation" was for the purpose of a stricter observance of the law. Those from whom he withdrew were largely of the very class of "publicans and sinners" who were now aspiring to a "share in the world to come" by other and extra-legal methods. Their consolidation might to some extent be a reaction provoked by his own; but it was a consolidation in the opposite sense. The rite of initiation adopted by them at the very formation of their obnoxious brotherhood of Jesus, under a conviction that such was the commandment of the spirit of Jesus, and explicitly sealing them with his name, could seem to the consistent Pharisee nothing less than a taking of the kingdom of heaven by violence. The publicans and sinners would on this plan receive the Pharisee's reward by mere "grace," or favor, of Jesus. Logically, then, as Paul distinctly saw, both before and after his conversion, baptism must become wholly or in part a substitute for "the yoke of the law."

Clearly the adoption of the rite was in reality a harking back to the warning of John the Baptist to prepare by repentance, regardless of Abrahamic descent or prerogative, for the impending Day of Yahweh. Because God in the exaltation of Jesus had "given assurance to all that he hath appointed a day of judgment," repentance and baptism were the immediate steps to be taken. Neither Peter, nor any who had been with him and like Peter had been disloyal, felt ready to stand before the judgment seat until they had sought forgiveness. And the forgiveness was sought not on the ground of their relation to Israel or the law, but on the ground of their relation to Jesus. They were no longer reckoned Abraham's, but Christ's. Baptism had become a circumcision "into the name of Jesus."

Nothing then so fully and adequately explains Paul's persecution as the practice of baptism. Better than aught else its adoption marks the transition between the condition of the disciples of Jesus as members of the old Israel, and their condition as members of a people of God not after the flesh. He who was baptized into the name of Jesus, confessing his sins, acknowledged that he thereby sought "to be justified from all things from which he could not be justified by the law of Moses."¹⁴ His faith in Jesus as the Christ, and self-surrender to him, became to the baptized disciple a new "Way," a Way of "grace," a means of personal redemption apart from the national redemption of Israel. Logically, then, —though this was less apparent to the untrained minds of such as Peter than to the rigorous logic of Paul—baptism, with the faith that it implied, must inevitably be looked upon as a means of "justification (forgiveness) apart from works of law." We have here a clew to the seemingly unwarranted imputation made by Paul in Gal. 2 15–18 of his own distinctive gospel of "justification by faith apart from works of law" to his antagonist Peter. Thus the one clear and unmistakable testimony, wholly independent of Paul, which comes down to us from the pre-Pauline church is the rite of baptism into the name of Jesus "for the forgiveness of sins." This was the distinctive, conspicuous mark of those whom Paul had persecuted as a zealot for the law. They made the law of none effect. A Pharisee could not well be expected to see

¹⁴ Cf. Acts 13 38 f.

any other significance in the rite than precisely this.¹⁵ Surely, Paul was justified in pointing out to Peter at Antioch that one cannot put his trust in one ground of acceptance with God without ipso facto removing it from the other, and this Petrine doctrine of *grace* is the new factor which marks the transition in Peter's Christology. To Paul's mind at least, Peter's "conversion" had been a recognition "that a man is not justified through the works of the law, but only through faith in Jesus as the Christ."¹⁶

We need not recall again that which Paul so often designates or implies as the formula expressive of the primitive and common faith, the confession of Jesus as "Lord." That this was elemental in the Christology of Peter needs no further proof. We have indeed no specific reference in Paul to indicate that Peter's definition of the term did not differ from his own. But it cannot be mere accident that our fundamental Petrine sources coincide with Paul in building upon Ps. 110 1 as the foundation of the doctrine. Whether it be the speech at Pentecost (Acts 2 34 f.) or Mark's report of Petrine tradition, presenting Jesus as confounding the scribes with the witness of Scripture to his own Lordship (Mk. 12 35-37); or again Paul's allusions to the seating of Jesus "at the right hand of the Father" (Rom. 8 34, 1 Cor. 15 25-28, Phil. 2 9-11), there can be no doubt that this sovereignty in Peter's mind as well as Paul's was universal, comprehensive of angelic and demonic as well as of human authority. We surely have small reason to suppose that the control of "spirits" in "the name of Jesus" was less convincing evidence of this sovereignty to Peter's mind than to Paul's. In the great battle with Gnostic theosophy of the subapostolic age it is this doctrine of Lordship (*κυριότης*) which forms the centre of orthodox faith. The later Pauline and the deutero-Pauline documents are full of insistence upon this superiority of the Son to angels, his absolute preëminence as "King of kings and Lord of lords." Can we imagine that on this point Peter's Christology would have differed from Paul's? On the contrary, the resistance to a primitive type of Arianism, which characterizes New Testament Christology as well as that of second

¹⁵ Cf. Josephus' defence of the Baptist's rite as "not for the expiation of sins" (Ant. XVIII, v. 2).

¹⁶ Gal. 2 16.

century fathers, is a direct inheritance from Jewish messianism. It rests, as we have seen, on the doctrine of the Son as Lord and heir of creation based on Gen. 1 26-28. Surely, the writer who but a score of years after the death of Paul and Peter writes in Peter's name, has done no injustice to the great Apostle of the circumcision in making him apply the Pauline terminology to "Jesus Christ, who is gone into heaven and is at the right hand of God, angels and principalities and powers being made subject unto him."¹⁷

As respects the title "Son of God" we must indeed recognize a difference. It is true that by implication Paul looks back to Peter's anticipation of his own calling and apostleship, as having been also a "manifestation of God's Son in him." Both in Gal. 1 16, 2 7 f., and 1 Cor. 15 3-11, the substantial identity in significance of the "manifestation" is indispensable to the argument. It is also true that in addressing himself to the Romans, a church founded independently of his own efforts, and speaking in the most general terms of the common accepted gospel, Paul refers to it as the doctrine that Jesus had been "designated the Son of God with power by the resurrection."¹⁸ But in this very connection he gently deprecates that aspect of the Sonship which is made prominent in Peter's Pentecostal speech. There the point of departure is the oath of God sworn to David, "that of the fruit of his loins one should sit upon his throne." Only at the close is the transcendental nature of the fulfilment made plain. Paul's summary of "the gospel of God" inverts this relation. Only "according to the flesh" was Jesus "of the seed of David." The "sonship" is brought into no relation whatever with the theocratic promise of 2 Sam. 7 12 f. and the "sure mercies of David." But it would be easy to exaggerate the importance of this difference. It can be fully accounted for by the difference of occasion. In the synagogue of Antioch in Pisidia Paul is made by Luke to repeat the arguments of Peter, while Mark's cavalier treatment of the doctrine of the Davidic sonship¹⁹ well illustrates how Petrine Christology could be modified for Rome. Conscious misrepresentation there certainly is not, either in the case of Mark

¹⁷ 1 Pt. 3 22.

¹⁸ Rom. 1 4.

¹⁹ Cf. Mk. 12 35-37, and the omission of pedigree.

or Luke. Peter and Paul were really at one in the belief that Jesus according to the flesh had been "of the seed of David," though Mark ignores this. They were also at one in the conviction that in making him Lord and Christ God was now fulfilling the promise to David. Only, as we have seen reason to believe, for Paul the implications of sonship were wider and deeper than such as inhere in the theocratic application of the term.

Whether Peter's doctrine of the Spirit really coincided with Paul's to the extent of identifying the spirit of prophecy in the Scripture writers with the pre-incarnate Christ, as 1 Pt. 1 11 implies, cannot be inferred with strictness from any writing of Paul's. All that can be said is that the use of formulae of trinitarian type, and the appeal in anti-Judaistic argument to the manifestations of the Spirit as the supreme proof of divine adoption make it clear that no difference was felt to exist in principle, however Paul may have felt obliged to distinguish between the higher, abiding, ethical gifts, and the more spectacular, sought after by the superficial. The doctrine of mystical union with Christ by infusion of the Spirit is too closely related to Paul's distinctive religious experience for us to expect traces of it in parts of the New Testament not directly dependent upon Pauline teaching. But who can think that Paul stood alone in identifying the Pentecostal outpourings as a working of "the spirit of Jesus"?²⁰ Paul at least is not conscious of any departure from the conviction of "those that were before him" in this pregnant identification.

2. If now we turn from the implications and allusions of the Pauline writings to the testimony of later tradition regarding the Christology of Peter, we shall find it fruitful, even in those documents which we have least reason to regard as influenced by Paulinism, in corroboration of the results already attained. It is true that we solve but one-half the problem in showing how Peter's Christology might seem in harmony with Paul's from either apostle's point of view. It is equally needful to understand how it could harmonize with the recollections Jesus' intimate followers must have had of their personal association and intercourse with him. And here we touch indeed upon the most

²⁰ Cf. Acts 16 7 (R. V.).

vital point of all our undertaking, the psychological transition point in the mind of Peter.

It is useless to refer the religious psychology of Paul back to an antecedent, but comparatively unknown, psychological experience of Peter, unless to some extent we may hope to give account to ourselves of this primary experience. And if it deserves to be called a "giving account" of such an experience to refer it baldly to "the act of God," supernatural and inscrutable, such an "explanation" explains nothing. It is utterly sterile, leaving the mind no more helped or enlightened than before. Either there is no justification for the attempt to understand, or else the attempt must begin with the acknowledgment that while Peter's experience, like all other events, great and small, was the act of God, it too, like all other acts of God, but chiefly such as affect our most vital interests, calls for reverent inquiry into the mode of God's action, even to the limit of the resources of the mind.

What we know of Peter's experience when God manifested to him the glorified Jesus as "Christ" and "Lord" is scanty indeed, and yet enough to determine its character as transitional or reconstructive in the sense already described. Peter changed his idea of the Christ. Certainly, if we can depend upon anything in the whole sphere of gospel tradition, we can depend upon this. The whole story of the journey to Jerusalem begins with it, the whole story of the final tragedy revolves about it.

The passage which we must consider fundamental among the remnants of Petrine tradition is Luke's report of Jesus' outlook upon a reaction to follow after Peter's desertion and denial. "I have prayed for thee, Simon, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art turned again (ἐπιστρέψας) strengthen (στήρισον) thy brethren."²¹ The terms here employed (ἐπιστρέψας, στήρισον), whether we treat the prediction as wholly authentic, or to greater or less extent colored by the event, represent a perfectly uniform tradition as to Peter's part in the founding of the brotherhood whose corner-stone was the faith that Jesus had been divinely delivered from the power of Sheol, and would soon reappear as the Redeemer of Israel. This is Peter's one title to primacy. Before the tragedy of Calvary there is little of a reliable character

²¹ Lk. 22 32.

to distinguish him from other members of the group of earliest disciples. He is not elder than Andrew nor earlier called than James and John. He is not "first" except in the later, ecclesiastical Gospel of Matthew. His distinction is that he became the Rock on which the church was founded when the opposing power was "the gates of Sheol." James and John appear with him in Paul's references as companion "pillars"; but if we go back to the earliest tradition there is no rivalry or ambiguity about the matter. Peter was first to promulgate "the gospel of God" that Jesus had been "designated as the Christ, the Son of God," by the resurrection.²² His primacy dates, then, from after Calvary.

It is true that there is here a discrepancy between Paul's implications and Synoptic tradition. Mark, in conformity with his systematic attempt to antedate the divine sonship of Jesus, makes his Christhood begin at his baptism; the demons recognize it from his first exorcism. In Mark's view Peter only voices the conviction of the whole inner circle of disciples in making the definite acknowledgment at Caesarea Philippi: "Thou art the Christ." This, then, is already a drastic prolepsis; for Mark certainly makes no distinction in the confession of Christhood as meant by Peter at Caesarea Philippi, and Christhood as understood in the full Christian sense.²³ Matthew goes further still. Not merely is the Petrine confession carried back as in Mark to the beginning of the journey to Jerusalem and Golgotha, even the founding of the church is carried back along with it. Jesus builds it already on Peter's faith, and makes it already victorious over the gates of Sheol, although the conflict with the gates of Sheol is still to come, and Peter's denial and "turning again" are all as truly events of the future as the *Christus futurus* whom he acknowledges, and the *ecclesia futura* whose keys are placed in his hand. It hardly needs the parallel in Jn. 21 15-19 to prove the anachronism of this development upon Mark's story. Peter's first confession, in spite of the rebuke it is admitted to have incurred, is to be made as nearly as possible to take the place of that later experience, the account of which has been so singularly eliminated from evangelic story. It is a further step in the same direction already taken by Mark in introducing here the

²² 1 Cor. 15 1-8.

²³ Cf. Mk. 9 41.

Transfiguration story, a revelation of the (glorified) Christ to Peter. It is a notable fact that the *Apocalypse of Peter* places the transfiguration *after* the resurrection.

We have no call on account of this disposition of our evangelists toward prolepsis to deny the historicity of Peter's first confession. The evangelists who so assiduously seek to obliterate the distinction between Peter's ascription to Jesus of a Christhood "according to the things that are of men," and his subsequent recognition of the glorified Son of God, are not likely to have invented the story of the rebuke. Neither can we account psychologically for the later experience without the former. The betrayal, denial, desertion of Jesus by his followers are facts to be accounted for. They surely imply a lack of harmony between his ideals and theirs. The evangelists hold that this was already potentially overcome by Jesus' inculcation of the Son of man doctrine. In their view Jesus had explicitly substituted this for his disciples' conception of a Messiah without an antecedent death and resurrection; only "their hearts were hardened," they were as men who "having eyes see not, and having ears hear not." But from this Markan theory, dominant as it became, modern criticism is compelled to make important discounts. The utter consternation of the disciples at the tragedy is incompatible with these explicit predictions, still more their alleged incredulity at the report of the resurrection. Both the Petrine Christology in its primitive form and the Pauline are destitute, as we have seen, of the title Son of man, and rest upon another conception of Christhood than the Danielic and apocalyptic. In reality the title Son of man has been shown to connect itself in origin with the apologetic of the cross. Precisely as rabbinic theology reconciles by means of a doctrine that Messiah is first born as man among men and thereafter caught away into heaven²⁴ the conflicting ideas of a Son of David, or a prophet like unto Moses raised up in Israel, with the transcendental figure of Daniel brought "upon the clouds;" or again as 2 Esdras meets the same difficulty by the representation that after a preliminary work in human form Messiah dies and is immediately resurrected in superhuman,²⁵ so

²⁴ Pesikta 49b, "Messiah, like Moses, will first appear then be withdrawn 45 days"; cf. Rev. 12 5, Jn. 7 27.

²⁵ 2 Esdr. 7 28 ff.

early Christian apologetic resorts to the Danielic figure not only impersonally and objectively, as Jesus had done, but as an explanation of the tragedy of Calvary. How could Jesus appear on the clouds of heaven unto judgment, unless first he were snatched away from the limitations of his earthly life? But even in the modified form which the "consistent eschatological" theory receives at the hands of J. Weiss, it is hard to reconcile with the conduct of the Twelve. If Jesus really adopted this "eschatological" answer to their objections to his predictions of his martyrdom it would seem that they must either have ceased to be his followers, or else have continued with at least a partial hope of his prompt return in glory as Son of man upon the clouds of heaven. The actual course of events implies that Jesus' disciples accompanied him to Jerusalem with messianic hopes and ideals which were not in harmony with his own. Mark's explanation, which sets the key for subsequent evangelists, represents, it is true, that the only point of difference was the doctrine of the cross and resurrection, which Jesus met by the Danielic doctrine, though they refused to receive it. In other points Master and disciples were at one. But the story itself implies a far wider difference. We cannot indeed do justice to the facts without acknowledgment that in some sense Jesus accepted (under protest) the ascription, "Thou art the Christ."²⁶ But the whole point of the narrative is lost and the events themselves become unintelligible, especially that well termed the "conversion of Peter," unless we give full significance to the terms of the rebuke "Thou mindest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men" (Mk. 8 33). The difference that divides Jesus from the twelve from this point on to the resurrection is more than a difference on the inclusion of martyrdom in Messiah's career, it is more than the admission or non-admission of the Son of man doctrine. It is a difference of ethical quality, as the quoted sayings constantly reveal. Again we reiterate that Jesus' appeal to Jerusalem was really intended to be messianic. Historically speaking the tragedy of Golgotha remains unaccountable if Jesus

²⁶ On the question raised by Wrede whether Jesus ever countenanced the application to himself of the messianic name and rôle see my *Beginnings of Gospel Story*, pp. 109 ff.

to escape it had only to say plainly "I am not the Christ." Psychologically speaking the resurrection experience of Peter and those who soon after repeated it is unaccountable, if Jesus before his death had not in *some* sense welcomed the title of Messiah. Peter's mind, if such a vision or "revelation" as Paul's had come to him after the crucifixion could not have remained satisfied with it unless it corresponded with the data of his previous life with Jesus, any more than Paul's mind could have rested in stable equilibrium after his "revelation," unless the Christ thus found had met the agonizing yearnings of his soul. Nevertheless the difference so candidly attested in all evangelic tradition between Peter's Christology before and after his "conversion," the difference emphasized in the great rebuke of Jesus, "Get thee behind me, Satan," is *not* the mere lack of a Son of man doctrine. It is *not* the deficiency so easily supplied in Luke's narrative of the walk to Emmaus and subsequent interview with the eleven, when the risen Jesus "opened to them the scriptures" and showed them that "thus it is written, and thus it behoved the Christ to suffer and to enter in to his glory."²⁷ These are later softenings of the more fundamental difference emphasized in the expression "the things of God—the things of men" (τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ—τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων).²⁸ Only such a deeply religious and moral difference as this can account for so complete an abandonment of all hope as the records unanimously attest after the catastrophe. Conversely, its restoration could be based on no foundation less adequate than the religio-ethical ideal that at first had found no welcome. It was the Christology of Jesus, so far as Peter's penitent thought could reproduce it, with which Peter "turned again and strengthened his brethren."

We find, then, that it is not merely the implications of the Pauline Epistles which show the real psychological transition point to have been in the mind of Peter rather than the mind of Paul,—implications which have been too greatly discounted as unconscious adaptations by Paul of Peter's thought to his own. No; the oldest and most authentic non-Pauline sources show no less surely that Peter is really entitled to the place of originator of the first article of the Christian creed, the doctrine that "Jesus is the Christ," and "Christ" in the Christian sense. Paul is not

²⁷ Lk. 24 25-27 and 44-47.

²⁸ Mk. 8 33.

speaking for himself alone, but for all the bearers of the gospel message, most of all for those who had been "apostles before him," when he declares "We (of the ministry of the new covenant) henceforth know no man after the flesh; yea though (as Jews) we have known a Christ after the flesh (κατὰ σάρκα χριστόν, i.e., in Markan phrase, a Christ "after the things of men"), yet now would we know (such a Messiah) no more."²⁹ It is a reference to the great transition from Jewish messianism to Christian Christology, and Paul emphatically does *not* make it originate with himself. In the exegesis of this passage we must part company with the able and brilliant author of *Christ: The Beginning of the Dogma*, and hold that there is no reference whatever in Paul's mind to any acquaintance of his own with Jesus in the flesh. If any such acquaintance at all is implied (and this is not a necessary inference), it will be that of Peter and other earlier apostles, who *if* the ministry of the new covenant were κατὰ σάρκα might on this ground have claimed superiority to Paul. But now this is not the case. They and Paul alike have adopted a new definition of Christhood. All in common have renounced that whose fulfilment is in "the flesh," for that whose fulfilment is "after the Spirit."

We have reviewed the testimony of Paul to Petrine Christology, and found that while points or shades of difference exist they are not fundamental. Both apostles have already crossed the real dividing line which separates Jewish messianism from Christian Christology. We have compared with this oldest and most authentic, though indirect, testimony the testimony of non-Pauline tradition, endeavoring to give most weight to those sources which are generally acknowledged to reflect in least altered form the ancient Petrine gospel. The result has been confirmatory of the view derived from the Pauline references. Peter's messianism "according to the things that be of men" had already been changed to that ethico-religious form which is distinctive of the religion of Jesus long before it was possible for him to be affected by the ideas of Paul. The adoption of the rite of baptism from the very outset in the church which owed its formation to Peter's faith is the decisive proof of this. But we have left the supreme

²⁹ 2 Cor. 5 16.

factor in Petrine Christology as yet untouched. How came the change in Peter's mind? Why was it, that having experienced the vision or revelation of God's Son, "made Lord and Christ" by the resurrection, his mind, like Paul's, remained satisfied with a Christology whose fundamental note—whatever the Jewish overtones—is distinctively ethico-religious?

To this, our final question, there can be but one answer. Peter's sense of sin doubtless had much to do with the nature of his "conversion." The early identification of the risen Lord with the Danielic Son of man, whose Day had been predicted by Jesus in further development of the warnings of John the Baptist, and whose Coming was now the eager expectation of all hearts—this conception, too, may well have played a part in the development of Petrine Christology; but it is not the deepest, the most fundamental. Events and records would have shaped themselves differently had the transition in Peter's Christology been no more than the adoption of an eschatological element of Jesus' teaching at first excluded as unwelcome. The origin of Peter's change of mind is to be found in nothing less than his personal and intimate relation with Jesus the Son of God.

In the Petrine speeches of Acts as in the Pauline Epistles it is not the Danielic Christology of the Son of man which dominates. This figure is absent from both. Of course the eschatological apocalyptic conception could not fail to be present and prominent in both; but the Christological figure which belongs to the Petrine speeches of Acts and the First Epistle of Peter *distinctively*, being traceable elsewhere only in a few primitive liturgical passages, such as the prayer of Clement of Rome, the liturgical prayers of the *Didaché*, the dying martyr's prayer in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, and the fragment of Apollinarius of Hierapolis on Christ as the passover victim, is the Isaian figure of the suffering Servant of Yahweh (ὁ παῖς θεοῦ). It is significant that the only use made by Paul of this Isaian type of Christological doctrine is in the passage wherein he refers to the gospel teaching received by him from his predecessors in the faith: "I received . . . how that Christ died for our sins *according to the Scriptures*."

We need not suppose that the employment of the Isaian figure of the suffering Servant necessarily goes back to Jesus himself, though its association with the eucharist must date from extremely

early times. But this conclusion we may surely draw from our review of the various types of primitive Christology: the transition from Jewish messianism to Christian Christology was effected in the mind of Peter, before the conversion of Paul; and in this transition the fundamentally efficient factor was Peter's memory of daily life with Jesus. To have been with him from the beginning and witnessed the whole-souled simplicity of his unbroken walk with God, the serenity of his unconquerable faith in the heavenly Father, the absolute consecration of a life given without question or reserve to the "doing of the will of the Father," the joy and peace of service and trust exemplified in One to whom sonship meant likeness of disposition and purpose to the Father,—this morally and religiously ideal life and the heroic death were deeper influences with one of Peter's stamp than any inherited forms of religious thought.

It is not so much the words we hear as the life we witness which most deeply affects our religious convictions, especially if we be simple and unsophisticated. Psychologically speaking, it may be true that the vision or revelation of Peter which marks the origin of the resurrection faith was conditioned upon the incident of Caesarea Philippi and the tragedy of Calvary. Possibly the future historian may say: Peter's psychological experience when (to use Paul's language) God "energized in him unto his apostleship," revealing to him Jesus as the risen and glorified Christ, is unaccountable without the antecedent suggestion of Christhood in the messianic appeal of Jesus to Jerusalem, and more tragically still in "the superscription of his accusation," making public proclamation that he suffered as "King of the Jews." Be the proximate and external cause what it may, that which filled the term "Christ" with its new content, transforming it from a Jewish to a Christian sense, was the ethico-religious conception at first rejected, but now at last imbibed, traceable only to Jesus himself. Jesus' words about the inwardness of the kingdom, about its essence being the filial relation to God, the doing of the Father's will by all, gladly, from the heart,—these doubtless came back to Peter at his "conversion." Most of all Jesus' spirit and life came back, to give a new meaning to the title "Son of God." The ultimate author of our Christology is Jesus himself.

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